

NOTES
on the
Political History

of Queensland

1859-1917.



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Notes on the Political History of Queensland—1859-1917.

CHARLES A. BERNAYS,

Clerk-Assistant and Sergeant-at-Arms, Legislative Assembly.

WHEN asked by the Historical Society to contribute a paper on the Political History of Queensland I already had in view the amplification of an article written by me in August, 1909, for the Jubilee number of the "Queenslander." Owing to the necessity for economising space, there was not much opportunity then of doing justice to a subject which is of interest to a considerable section of the community. It is hoped that this paper may serve the dual purpose of interesting honourable members of the Legislature and forming an historical basis upon which others can build at a later date. The work has been much more laborious and has involved more research than would appear at first sight, and on that account, and because it was undertaken during the Parliamentary session, I feel justified in asking for tolerant criticism.

This paper is intended to be, and I hope will be, a dispassionate review of Queensland's chief political events, and of the principal men who have devoted their energies to the government of this part of Australia. I have been too long a servant of Parliament not to recognise the importance of the strictest impartiality.

The whole of that vast territory north of Point Danger and formerly attached to New South Wales, representing an area of 668,497 square miles, or ten times that of England and Wales, was erected into a separate colony under the designation of "Queensland" on the 10th December, 1859, and many of you will know that prior to Federation the anniversary of separation was probably our chief public holiday.

The first Governor of the colony was Sir George Ferguson Bowen, a graduate of Trinity College, Oxford, and a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, who passed the law by

in favour of a political appointment as Chief Secretary of the Government under the Lord High Commissioner in the Ionian Islands, then under a British protectorate. It was there Sir George Bowen found his charming wife, the Countess Diamantina Roma, daughter of His Highness Count Candiano Roma, G.C.M.G. Both the christian name and surname of this lady are embodied in Queensland's geographical nomenclature. The name selected for the new State was, on the authority of Sir George, entirely the happy thought of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, who, in spite of other suggestions, "spontaneously determined to confer her own Royal Title on this new Province of Her Empire." I wish I could quote at length to you some private advice given to Sir George, on his appointment, by the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. It is not within the scope of this paper to do so, but there is one charming paragraph which it is a pity not to revive from the old records of the past:—

"Do your best," he says, "always to keep up the pride in the mother country. Throughout Australia there is a sympathy with the ideal of a gentleman. Sustain it by showing the store set on integrity, honour, and civilised manners: not by preference of birth, which belongs to older countries."

It was on the 10th December, 1859, that the first Governor arrived to govern a population of 25,000 people, Brisbane at that period having 7,000 inhabitants, fourteen churches, thirteen public-houses, and twelve policemen.

Until an election could be held a tentative Government had to be formed, and, of the men associated with Sir George in his elementary attempt to control a territory 13,000 miles long by 900 miles wide, old identities will remember the familiar names of the scholarly Robert G. W. Herbert, afterwards Sir Robert Herbert, who for many years subsequently filled the Under Secretaryship to the Colonial Office in Downing Street; Ratcliffe Pring, who was the first Attorney-General; and R. R. Mackenzie, Colonial Treasurer.

The First Parliament, consisting of twenty-six elected members of the Legislative Assembly and certain nominees

in the Legislative Council, met on the 22nd May, 1860. The authority for the election of the first Legislative Assembly is to be found in a proclamation dated 20th December, 1859, by Sir William Denison, Governor-General in and over the colonies of New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia, and issued by virtue of the provisions of an Order in Council dated 6th June, 1859. Under the proclamation the number of members of which the Assembly was to be composed was declared to be twenty-six, and the colony was divided into sixteen electoral districts, three of them returning three members each, four returning two members each, and nine returning one member each.

After the election the Governor expressed his gratification that all three members of his Provisional Executive were elected. "This result," he says, "is an irrefragable proof that, on my first arrival here, I called to my counsels men who already possessed or who, while serving under my directions, have since acquired a large share of public confidence." It is interesting here to note that Herbert, who had been brought from England by Governor Bowen, received three separate invitations to contest seats in the First Parliament, and was returned unopposed for Leichhardt. In like manner Pring (afterwards His Honour Mr. Justice Pring) received two invitations and was returned unopposed for Eastern Downs. Mackenzie, the third member of the Executive, headed the poll for Burnett after a strenuous fight.

The first Ministry to meet Parliament was composed of R. G. W. Herbert, Ratcliffe Pring as Attorney-General, succeeded by John Bramston and then by Charles Lilley; R. R. Mackenzie as Treasurer, succeeded by T. de Lacy Moffatt and then by Joshua Peter Bell; St. George Gore as Secretary for Lands and Works, succeeded by Arthur Macalister; with Maurice Charles O'Connell, J. J. Galloway, and Dr. William Hobbs in the Council without portfolios.

The original constitution of the Legislative Council comprised eleven nominees (at the outset it was proposed

to have had fifteen), and Sir Charles Nicholson was prevailed upon by the Governor to accept the Presidentship for the first session, being succeeded shortly afterwards by Sir Maurice Charles O'Connell.

Just at this juncture let me advert to a Gilbertian situation in which the Governor found himself at the very threshold of his career. In writing to his friend the Right Honourable Chichester Fortescue, on 6th June, 1860, he says—

“At the first start of all other Colonies the Governor has been assisted by a Nominee Council of experienced officials, he has been supported by an armed force, and he has been authorised to draw, at least at the beginning, on the Imperial Treasury for the expenses of the Public Service. But I was an autocrat, the sole source of authority here, without a single soldier or without a single shilling. . . . I started with just $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the Treasury, but a thief, supposing, I fancy, that I should have been furnished with some funds for the outfit—so to speak—of the new State, broke into the Treasury a few nights after my arrival and carried off the $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.”

Compare that situation with the facts of to-day and one feels keenly the pathos of His Excellency's position.

1860.—In the Treasury $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.

1917-1918.—Estimated Revenue, £8,252,629; Estimated Expenditure, £8,749,241; and Public Debt to the end of June, 1916, £62,998,875, and the interest thereon £2,433,462 per annum. Verily our financial progression has been great in our fifty-eight years of history!

The meeting day of the First Parliament (22nd May, 1860) was appropriately enough the anniversary of the discovery of Moreton Bay by Captain Cook. The old convict barracks, the centre of which was about where Watson, Ferguson, and Co.'s Queen-street premises now stand, was the place of meeting; and as I was born under the shadow of that building, and have been associated with Parliament for the best part of forty years, perhaps I may be excused the presumption of talking about Parliament.

In speaking of the members of the various Parliaments since Separation, it will be convenient to refer, not to the

original selection at each general election, but to the members who sat at any time during the currency of the Parliament.

Of other members returned to the First Parliament, familiar names are those of George Raff, Henry Jordan, whose services in London in the cause of immigration proved such lasting benefit to the State; Charles W. Blakeney, who became Chairman of Committees and afterwards a District Court Judge (his son, Theophilus, was a valued public servant who became Registrar-General); Henry Richards, Charles Lilley, the silver-tongued rhetorician (his famous political contests in Fortitude Valley have no prototype in modern days); Frederick Forbes, who became Speaker at a later date; St. George R. Gore, the first representative of Warwick; Henry Buckley, who became Auditor-General; John Watts, the brother-in-law of the late Sir Hugh Nelson; Arthur Macalister, also to become Speaker and Premier as history unfolded itself, a man of extraordinary vigour of speech and a political power to be reckoned with at all times; George Edmondstone, the rugged Paddy O'Sullivan, father of the popular and genial District Court Judge, Tom O'Sullivan; Thomas de Lacy Moffatt, Charles Coxen, who became Chairman of Committees; A. D. Broughton, James Taylor, a representative Darling Downs squatter; George Thorn, who became an ephemeral Premier; William Lambie Nelson, Sir Hugh's father, who was unseated on the ground of being a minister of religion; Charles Royds and Charles Fitzsimmons, squatters from Leichhardt and Port Curtis respectively; John Ferrett, C. R. Haly, Joseph Fleming, Robert and Ben Cribb, T. S. Warry, Dr. Henry Challinor, T. Gore Jones, the father of the present Master of Titles; Alfred Sandeman, another squatter; J. D. McLean, the polished Joshua Peter Bell, and William Henry Groom, afterwards Speaker, who served through thirteen Parliaments, and died the "Father of the House." And last came Gilbert Elliott, member for Wide Bay, who was chosen as the first Speaker. He was a gentleman of an old Scotch family, and formerly an officer of the Royal Artillery. The services of Elliott, who was subsequently

knighted and raised to a seat in the Legislative Council, were unique, inasmuch as he served as Speaker through the first four Parliaments, and presided in all over sixteen sessions. His grandson is to-day Assistant Engineer for Harbours and Rivers.

Reverting to the original Legislative Council, it is interesting to find Sir George Bowen writing to the Duke of Newcastle on 21st May, 1860, and expressing the opinion that fifteen members would be a fair proportion as compared with the twenty-six in the Legislative Assembly. "In fact," he says, "I have had some difficulty in properly filling up that number, for all the more active and influential politicians desire seats in the Lower House."

"Sir Charles Nicholson," in the words of the Governor, "entirely from a sense of public duty, and a desire to render useful service to this colony, consented to undertake, during the first session, the office of President."

It would appear from the records that at the outset the Governor could only secure eleven members for the Council, and that they were appointed for five years only. Their names are as follow:—Sir Charles Nicholson, and Messrs. O'Connell, McDougall, Bigge, Compigné, Fullerton, Galloway, Yaldwyn, Balfour, Laidley, and Massie. Only the first eight attended on the opening day of the first Parliament. It was not long, however, before the membership was increased, and up to the end of the termination of the Parliament in 1862 we find the names of Louis Hope, Simpson, Fitz, George Harris, Dr. Hobbs, W. Duckett White, A. H. Brown, John McConnel, W. Barker, Western Wood, and Ratcliffe Pring.

Let us turn now to the Prorogation Speech—which, by the way, has completely gone out of vogue in this and other States—to discover what Parliament accomplished in this its first session of four months.

Of primary importance were those measures immediately necessary for the effective adaptation of the Constitution of New South Wales to the altered circumstances of the colony, among which was an important

alteration of the law under which votes were registered. Measures were also passed to adjust accounts with New South Wales, to provide for the alienation of Crown lands and the occupation of waste lands; a Census Act, a Grammar Schools Act, and an Act relating to the occupation of unoccupied Crown lands. The all-important question of Primary Education received early attention, the Bill being introduced in the Legislative Council, and a solid foundation was laid for the existing Act, the sound principles of which the test of time has failed to shake. At this early stage Parliament abolished all State aid to religion, but reserved the rights of those ministers in receipt of stipends paid by the Government.

How interesting it is in these days to read of "The Gunpowder and Warlike Stores Exportation Act" rendered necessary by the lamentable outbreak in New Zealand. A fine of £500 was provided for a breach of the law. Imagine a feeble little community such as ours was in those days, passing a war measure within twelve months of its birth; and in view of the state of the Treasury one wonders what was the possible value of any warlike stores it could export. Half a dozen other measures of minor importance received the Royal assent, but an "Injury to the Character Act" did not appear to be received with favour.

By far the most important Acts passed during the session were those relating to the tenure of land. In regard to these Sir George Bowen, writing to a political friend, said:—

"The legislation of our first Parliament has settled that long quarrel between pastoral and agricultural interests which has raged in all new countries since the days of Abel."

And in an official letter soon after his arrival he announced his intention of "maintaining a dignified neutrality between the contending parties," thus leading, he said, "to a conciliatory and permanent settlement of the land question." So successful was he in his policy that later on he announced that, while in other States the land question was in a position of "chronic blockade,"

yet "in Queensland it has been settled on a moderate and reasonable basis and without so much as a single Ministerial crisis."

I stress this question because you know so well what a fruitful source of difficulty land legislation in this State has always been, and one cannot help speculating whether the genial first Governor would in the light of fifty-eight years' further experience express the same opinions if he were with us to-day. One is inclined further to indulge in a smile when reading the opinion of a leading public organ of the day that—

"Judging from the experience of older countries, it would seem safe to predict that Queensland will not settle its land policy until two or three parliamentary sessions have expired."

If I were sure of your patience I should much like to delve further into the history of this time. Sir George's description of the squatters of 1859 will probably come as a shock to the squatters of 1917:—

"Gentlemen who live in a patriarchal style among their immense flocks and herds, amusing themselves with hunting, shooting, and fishing, and the exercise of a plentiful hospitality."

In concluding reference to the initial session of the Parliament I mention with some delicacy my father, Lewis Adolphus Bernays, C.M.G., who was the first Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, who served Parliament for forty-nine years, and died in 1908. To his practical, business-like methods we officers who follow him owe everything. Even in 1860 the archaic forms still adopted in some of our State Parliaments were democratised, and to-day the sequence of events in Parliament, as recorded in our "Votes and Proceedings," is probably unequalled for simplicity of form and language.

The session of 1861 was perhaps a milestone in our career, for it was in that year we first began to borrow money—a course we have followed with much assiduity ever since. We were modest in those days and only asked for £123,800 ls. at 6 per cent. The items being particularised in the Act, we find that a year after we were born we required £14,000 for a gaol and £3,000 for a

lunatic asylum. In that year the construction of the original Victoria Bridge was authorised; the Fencing Act and Masters and Servants Act first saw the light; and the Real Property Act, Parliamentary Privileges Act, Supreme Court Constitution Act Amendment Act, Religious and Charitable Institutions Act, Audit Act, Aliens Oath of Allegiance Act, Savings Bank Act, and Medical Act all own 1861 as the date of their birth. The old Queensland Steam Navigation Company was incorporated by Private Act during the session.

It was in this session that John Watts moved a motion affirming that the discoveries of the late Dr. Leichhardt deserved recognition, and that a monument be erected to his memory in some suitable place in the city of Brisbane. The accomplishments of this intrepid explorer apparently did not appeal to the sentimental side of honourable members' natures, for Taylor moved the "previous question," which was carried, and the motion was shelved.

The first session of 1862 lasted seven days only, being called for the specific purpose of passing an urgent measure dealing with diseases in cattle.

The second session of 1862 lasted for thirty-six days; only twelve Acts were passed, of which the most important were the Pastoral Occupation Act, Common Law Procedure Act, Coolie Labour Act, and Hospitals Act. It was in this year that His Royal Highness the Prince Consort died and the Queensland Parliament passed its first address to Her Majesty the Queen. In April, 1863, the First Parliament entered upon its last session, sitting only fifteen days and failing to pass any legislation at all.

The Ministry proposed a loan of nearly a million sterling for the construction of a railway from the head of navigation on the Brisbane River "towards the interior," and for telegraphic extensions to the Northern Ports. Party feeling ran high in contemplation of this huge expenditure, and an amendment on the second reading of the Bill was only defeated on the casting vote of the Speaker. Herbert then advised a dissolution, and the Parliament terminated on the 20th May, 1863.

The Second Parliament met on 21st July, 1863, with Herbert still Premier, and lasted until the 29th May, 1867, and among early politicians whom we meet for the first time we find Arnold Wienholt, the clever and querulous W. H. Walsh, destined to become Speaker; Theophilus P. Pugh, whose memory is perpetuated in the almanac bearing his name; T. B. Stephens, E. M. and C. J. Royds, John Douglas the erudite, Gordon Sandeman, William Brookes, whose *bête noir* was the gentle kanaka; the rough-and-ready William Miles from Maranoa, George Elphinstone Dalrymple, S. B. Davis, Theo Harden, G. M. Reed, G. E. Forbes, W. F. Kennedy, E. W. Lamb, and the strenuous, rugged, but tender-hearted Arthur Hunter Palmer, whose bark was so much worse than his bite.

The initial session of this Parliament lasted for thirty-eight days. An effort was made by Gordon Sandeman, without success, to pass an Additional Members Bill. Parliament distinguished itself by authorising the main trunk railway (S. & W.), over which the crisis had arisen in the former year. In addition it passed two Land Acts; a Civil Service Act of extraordinary liberality, for which a very few old retired public servants continue to be grateful; a Police Act, a Publicans Act, a Companies Act, Supreme Court Act, and measures dealing with oyster fisheries and quarantine were also consummated, together with the Brisbane Waterworks Act and a Census Act. The Commercial Bank and the Bank of Queensland were incorporated this year. Pugh tried to pass a Brisbane Incorporation Bill and failed. The old Mechanics' Institute, South Brisbane, and the Ipswich School of Arts were legislated for, while the Brisbane Municipal Council received authority to erect in Queen street that weird structure known as the Town Hall. If it were possible to dig beneath the foundation stone of the building you would find to-day a legend that it was erected as "an ornament to the city and a centre of commerce." The session concluded with a Loan Act for £774,036, including £250,000 for the railway from Ipswich to the Little Liverpool, and the large proportion of the balance for main roads.

In his Prorogation Speech the Governor refers with pride to the population having increased from 25,000 to 55,000, and the revenue from £178,000 to double that sum in 1863. It was a fair working session, and the pity of it is that the good example set in those days of declining to legislate with the thermometer up to 100 degrees in the shade has long since been departed from.

The second session began on 26th April, 1864, and lasted to 13th September—a period of forty-four sitting days. Officers of Parliament would gladly put back the clock to those times, for the average session is now nearer seventy-five days.

It was on the 26th April, 1864, that Parliament began to publish an official record of its debates. In those days the staff was very small, and the report as abbreviated as the staff. Later on, in 1876, these reports became of increased value, on the importation from England as leader of the "Hansard" staff of Mr. William Senior, a pressman of much ability, who not only trained a number of young men in an art at that time little known, but instituted a daily broadsheet "Hansard" which survived for some years and was then replaced by the "Hansard" in pamphlet form.

The legislation came in that year like a deluge of tropical rain. Forty Bills were introduced and thirty-one passed. It almost seemed as if our early legislators were bent upon making the number of laws equal the adult population. I said in a former paper that it was likely enough that each law created at least two new offences, so that the early inhabitants must have spent most of their time in learning what not to do.

The programme included the first Insolvency Act, a Railway Act, an Immigration Act, a Government Savings Bank Act, and a Volunteer Act. An Electoral Bill again failed to pass. The Bank of New South Wales and the Brisbane Gas Company both got their incorporation Acts through in this year, and at an early stage Blakeney tried without success to establish the democratic principle of

Triennial Parliaments. A Government Loan Act, too, for £1,019,000, at a rate not exceeding 6 per cent., was also passed, the larger part of this money being required for the extension of the railway from Little Liverpool Range to Toowoomba, for immigration, and for the railway west from Rockhampton. The first vote for the new Houses of Parliament was also provided for. During this session Parliament took steps towards increasing the number of members of the Legislative Assembly from twenty-six to thirty-two by adding the electoral districts of Kennedy, Mitchell, Warrego, Clermont, the town of Rockhampton, and the electoral district of Maryborough. The Military Contribution Act, providing for the payment to Her Majesty's Government of an annual sum of £3,640 "for the purpose of contributing towards the cost of Her Majesty's Troops in this Colony," was a significant piece of legislation in view of modern events. An effort was also made in the direction of laying the foundation of local government by providing for—

"The expenditure within each district of the colony of so much of the revenue raised therein as may be available for public works and for other purposes of a local character, and generally to provide for the administration of local affairs by Provincial Councils."

A study of this short 53-year-old enactment, by that numerous body of public-spirited men who now voluntarily conduct our local affairs, would give them an idea of the progression of local government.

Further measures dealt with during the session were a Grammar Schools Act Amendment Act, an Immigration (Land Orders) Act, and a Marriage Act for which Benjamin Cribb was responsible. The Municipal Institutions Act and the Provincial Councils Act were both the work of Macalister. The Parliamentary Buildings Act, providing for the sale by auction of Crown lands within the city of Brisbane whereon public buildings had been erected at the cost of the Imperial Treasury, and the payment of the proceeds into a fund to defray the cost of Parliamentary and other buildings, was the measure under which we so early acquired a palatial structure in which to legislate.

Enthusiasts in the cause of agriculture in the year 1917 will be interested in learning the attitude of Parliament towards the cultivation of the land in 1864. In that year Groom was anxious to have a sum of £500 set apart for the purpose of offering premiums for the best samples of wheat, barley, oats, tobacco, sugar, and cotton grown in any part of the colony. The question was debated at length, and an amendment by McLean to reduce the amount to one shilling was carried on division. For the year 1917-1918 Parliament has provided £76,239 for the Department of Agriculture; so that in fifty-three years we may be said to have made substantial advancement in the encouragement of the production of wealth from the soil.

A day or two before the session terminated, Captain Richard Colay, an early colonist, and the first Sergeant-at-Arms of the Legislative Assembly, died.

In 1865 came the third session of the Second Parliament, which lasted from early in May to the middle of September. Quite a number of matters of domestic concern were dealt with during the session, twenty-two Bills in all being assented to.

Democrats of to-day will mark with approval the fact that C. W. Blakeney (afterwards Chairman of Committees) was persistent in his efforts to obtain Triennial Parliaments, and will heave a sigh of regret when they learn that his little Bill was ordered to be read a second time "this day six months."

Among the more important measures dealt with was a District Courts Amendment Act, and concurrently with the extended facilities for obtaining justice the Parliament elaborated a series of measures to amend and consolidate the criminal law. The Claims against the Government Act (a measure which has stood the test of time) was initiated and passed by Walsh. The law relating to the registration of electors was amended, and in addressing Parliament the Governor "notices with peculiar satisfaction a class of measures destined to ameliorate the social, moral, and material condition of the people," including the

Industrial and Reformatory Schools Act, a measure to increase the rate of interest to savings bank depositors, and a measure "to enable the working classes to obtain annuities and life assurance."

The European population at this date had increased to 90,000, while revenue and trade in six years had been more than trebled.

Just at this stage it might be convenient to mention the other nominees to the Legislative Council who were appointed between 1862 and 1866. Some of these names will no doubt stimulate the recollection of old colonists. They were William Landsborough, John Bramston, E. I. C. Browne, St. George R. Gore, R. J. Smith, Francis North, John Watts, F. M. Isaac, John Douglas, Thomas Lodge Murray-Prior, John Panton, James Gibbon, J. A. Bell of Jimbour, J. C. Heussler, and William Thornton, afterwards Collector of Customs.

The records of the year 1865 contain numerous items which it would be unpardonable to overlook. Consequent upon the wise provision of Parliament, the cities of Brisbane and Rockhampton were at an early stage connected by telegraph. It was on the 4th of January of that year that telegraphic communication became an accomplished fact, and His Excellency Sir George Bowen had the satisfaction of exchanging complimentary messages with the then Mayor of Rockhampton.

Naturally enough it took some little time for the new State to adjust itself to correct constitutional usage, and there is evidence at this period that the representative of the Crown did not see eye to eye with some of the leading public men of the day. His Excellency's early training, and his correct realisation of the functions of the representative of the Crown in a constitutionally governed State, were the cause of some friction in our earlier years of self-government. This was made very apparent when Sir George Bowen took the somewhat extreme course of referring on 9th June, 1865, at an Ipswich Grammar School gathering, to the difficulties he had experienced in

exercising his vice-regal functions. Somewhat pathetically he complains of "his rare difficulty and delicacy as the *first Governor of the first colony ever founded with parliamentary or responsible government full-blown from the beginning*," and he goes on to mention that there existed a certain body of politicians "who have invariably declared themselves aggrieved when I declined at their solicitation to reverse, by arbitrary and despotic power, the decision of the constitutional Ministry and Parliament." To emphasise the strong position which he took up, he quotes the words of the then Secretary of State (Mr. Cardwell), who said:—

"A strict observance of the principles of constitutional government has given to Great Britain her happy pre-eminence among free and well-ordered communities, and it is no less important to a colony enjoying representative institutions than it is to the mother country."

Students of parliamentary government of all shades of opinion will doubtless admire the candid utterance of our first Governor on this important subject, and acclaim him as a "sound" man prepared to defend sound principles at the cost of his popularity.

The Parliamentary records of 14th June, 1865, make reference to a quaint proceeding on the part of one of our leading public men who would find his theories difficult to justify were he living in these days. On that date Blakeney had proposed a vote of £2,000 for the survey of a line of railway from Brisbane to Ipswich, and the then Minister for Lands and Works (Macalister) gave utterance to the strange doctrine that the Government should never lend any assistance to the construction of a railway where water communication was in existence, and that it would injure the credit of the State to go upon the money market and ask for money for such a purpose. Later in the session Brookes proposed to spend £2,500 on a similar purpose, but the motion was ruled out of order on the ground that the matter had already been dealt with during the session.

It was on the same date as Blakeney's motion that the foundation stone of the Parliamentary Buildings in George

street was laid by Sir George Bowen. Beneath that stone to-day, unless they have crumbled into dust, are copies of the "Courier," "Guardian," and "Pugh's Almanac."

As bearing on very modern events it certainly would not be out of place to mention here that, on 13th September of this same year which has furnished so many items of interest for us, Forbes, speaking in the Legislative Assembly, alluded to the Upper House as "a mockery, and therefore all the legislation which took place there was a mockery," and urged upon the House the necessity of altering the Constitution.

The recess of 1864 had seen the termination of the period for which the first batch of Legislative Councillors had been appointed under the 4th clause of the Order in Council, and an announcement to that effect was made in the Council on its reassembling on 2nd May, 1865. In this year a Council Constitution Bill was introduced in the Upper Chamber, and it is of more than passing concern to note that the measure proposed to restrict the number of members of that body and to limit the duration of the term for which members should hold office. The second reading in the Assembly was not carried by the necessary two-thirds majority provided at that time by the Constitution Act, and the Bill consequently dropped.

It comes somewhat as a contrast to the action taken in the previous session with regard to the encouragement of agriculture to find that in 1865 the Assembly offered, on the motion of Coxen, most liberal inducements to persons willing to engage in the occupation of sericulture. This might afford a hint to modern legislators to revive the movement, which is alleged to be both profitable and highly suited to the climatic conditions of Southern Queensland.

There are other extremely interesting items furnished by the early records of this period. For instance, on 2nd August, 1865, the Legislative Assembly passed an address of condolence to the widow of the assassinated President of the United States of America, Abraham Lincoln. Again, in those days electioneering being of a truly strenuous

character, it is strange to find that J. Gore Jones, being the Government nominee for the electoral district of Mitchell, was elected on "a show of hands," the supporters of Mr. Dutton, the other candidate, not being sufficiently numerous to demand a poll.

Reference to the year 1865 may be concluded by mention of the fact that, according to a return furnished to the Legislative Assembly, the cost of producing the first published volume of "Hansard" was £534 14s. 9d. The President's and Speaker's salaries were increased in this year to £800 per annum, but the Assembly declined to increase the salary of the Chief Justice from £1,500 to £2,000.

The fourth session of the Second Parliament, beginning on 10th April, 1866, and ending on 23rd October, if it did nothing else, produced a huge volume of printed matter. But it did produce something else. Out of forty-two Bills introduced twenty-six became Acts of Parliament. There had been a prolonged drought and consequent depression in trade, and Queensland, in common with other parts of the Empire, had been under the shadow of a financial crisis. Nevertheless, as pointed out by His Excellency when closing the session, the net revenue for the first three quarters of 1866 exceeded by nearly 7 per cent. that of the first three quarters of 1865. Land Bills, which at an early stage established a lien on the time of the Legislature, came along during the session to the number of three. There was increased taxation through the Custom-house; Friendly Societies were legislated for; the Stamp Act, the Small Debts Recovery Act, and the Carriers Act were passed; and, after a long list of measures not of profound importance, the inevitable Loan Bill and Treasury Bills Bill brought up the rear with a haughty indifference to settling day. The Loan Act provided for borrowing £1,170,950 at a rate not exceeding 6 per cent., and the principal items were £200,000 for Immigration, £432,350 for the line from Ipswich to Dalby, £388,700 Toowoomba to Warwick, and £54,000 for the Great Northern Railway.

And here it should be mentioned that, during the recess after the third session, the Herbert Ministry was merged into the first Macalister Ministry, the change arising out of Herbert's private and personal affairs necessitating his absence from the colony. As his colleagues Macalister took R. R. Mackenzie, Lilley as Attorney-General, J. P. Bell as Treasurer, and John Douglas, who appears for the first time as a Minister, as Postmaster-General. During the session a singular difficulty arose between the Governor and his advisers which led to the resignation of the Macalister Ministry on 19th July, 1866. Treasurer Bell informed His Excellency that he intended to issue "inconvertible Government notes" and to make them a legal tender in the colony. The Governor regretted his inability to sanction such a course, and intimated that if the Bill authorising such an issue were to pass Parliament he should feel obliged, in conformity with the Queen's instructions, to reserve it for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure, involving as it did an infringement of the prerogatives of the Crown. His Excellency pointed out the inadvisability of precipitating a crisis on such a matter so long as Ministers possessed the confidence of Parliament, and refused to accept their resignations. Nevertheless Macalister again tendered the resignations of himself and colleagues, which were reluctantly accepted. A very acute financial crisis was upon us, and no apology is needed for enlarging upon the incidents of this interesting period. The Agra and Masterman's Bank, which had undertaken to negotiate the sale of Queensland debentures and to advance £50,000 monthly for the prosecution of railways and other public works, had failed; the Bank of Queensland, after a very short career, had failed; and Treasurer Bell had invited the bank managers to meet him to ascertain what financial assistance they could give the colony. Failing help from them he proposed to fall back on legal tender notes to the amount of £200,000. Macalister was bitterly complaining at this period that every obstruction was being placed by the Governor in the way of himself and his colleagues in their endeavour to carry on the business of the colony and relieve the Government from its financial embarrassment.

It was for that reason he again tendered his resignation. Raff was sent for by the Governor, and in the meantime Herbert announced in Parliament that he and Raff had agreed to assist the Governor in managing public affairs until a new Government was regularly appointed. This was a very irregular proceeding, and excited the deepest indignation of many members of the House, who deprecated the carrying on of business by irresponsible advisers. It was at the second sitting on 20th July, 1866, that it was announced that Raff and Herbert had been called upon to advise the Governor as to the best course to pursue, and they had consented to take upon themselves the responsibility of passing such a measure as would meet instant requirements. At this sitting the Treasury Bench had no occupants and the retiring Government were all on the Opposition side. Later in the sitting Herbert announced the formation of a tentative Government, but Macalister strenuously objected that men who had accepted office had no right to sit in the Chamber until they had been before their constituents. A round dozen of members left the Chamber as a protest, and the House then passed through all its stages a Bill providing for the issue of Treasury bonds to the tune of £300,000, bearing interest at 10 per cent., and redeemable at the end of 1869. This was sent to the Council and came back approved of in double quick time. The acuteness of the crisis and the urgent need of funds may be judged from the rate of interest offered. Never before, and happily never since, has such a serious situation arisen. The Union Bank was advancing weekly sums to the Government, public servants were unpaid, and all the other banks holding unpaid Government cheques arranged to continue to hold them for some time longer. The events of the time excited such widespread interest, and party feeling ran so high, that at a public meeting held in the Town Hall 3,000 persons signed a petition for the recall of Sir George Bowen. Nevertheless the Governor stuck to his guns. In writing to the Honourable R. Lowe, M.P. (afterwards Viscount Sherbrooke, G.C.B.), he tells him of his troubles in this grave crisis, and how, as far as a constitutional Governor can interfere in such matters, he

had "endeavoured to check extravagance arising out of the constant 'log-rolling' of a Colonial Parliament." He condemns root and branch the proposed issue of Bell's "inconvertible legal tender notes," and compares them to the "assignats" of the French Revolution or the "greenbacks" of the then recent Civil War in America. He tells how the populace of Brisbane "was told by a few stump orators that an issue of unlimited 'greenbacks' would create unlimited funds for their employment on public works." Some idea of the acuteness of the position and the virulence of the party strife in those days may be gathered from the fact that several leading members of Parliament were ill-treated in the streets, and threats were even uttered of burning down Government House and treating the Governor "as Lord Elgin was treated in Montreal in 1849."

The Governor, as you may gather, was in great difficulty, and fell back upon his imported protégé, Herbert, who had not yet left the colony, and entrusted him with the task of forming a new Ministry, which was composed of Pring as Attorney-General, J. D. McLean as Treasurer, G. E. Dalrymple as Colonial Secretary, John Watts as Secretary for Lands and Works, T. L. Murray-Prior as Postmaster-General, and George Raff and Herbert without portfolios. It was palpably only a makeshift, and perhaps is the only instance on record of a Premier without a portfolio, but the circumstances were exceptional. After existing from 20th July to 7th August, 1866, it again gave way to another Macalister régime in the same session, it being necessary for Herbert to return to England. And here we part company with the Governor's early adviser. He left the colony about 20th August, 1866, and the "Courier" of the day, referring to the circumstance, said—

"Up to within a few days of his departure he did all in his power to initiate mischief and to create a misunderstanding between the members of the present Government. He has now left this colony, and whilst we wish him a safe return to England, we may add a hope that he will remain there."

The new team was composed of Macalister as Colonial Secretary, Lilley Attorney-General, J. D. McLean Treasurer, who died and was succeeded by Douglas, succeeded by Thomas Blacket Stephens (the father of William of that ilk, to-day an M.L.C.); J. P. Bell at the Lands, John Watts Public Works, St. George Gore Postmaster-General in the Council, and George Raff without portfolio. The successful smoothing over of this financial crisis did much to rehabilitate the popularity of His Excellency, which at one time was in danger of waning, but he had the ultimate satisfaction of hearing from Lord Carnarvon that—

“ I have no hesitation in approving entirely of your refusal to adopt a course at variance with your instructions.”

The records of 1866 mention the fact that the contractor for the new Houses of Parliament encountered extreme difficulty in securing the necessary supply of freestone, and after innumerable difficulties with contractors a quarry was rented at £150 a year and the stone procured by day labour. Enthusiastic parliamentary advocates for the day-labour system will no doubt be pleased to be reminded that the very building in which they legislate was responsible fifty-one years ago for the initiation of the system of day-labour work. No further difficulty was encountered, but it is stated that “ the expense was considerably greater than had been anticipated.” Everything, however, seemed to go moderately well after this, because we find that some time in June, 1866, a banquet was held in the Prince Consort Hotel to celebrate the completion of the walls. The curiosity of architects of to-day will be satisfied with the information that the prize design for the original building, which cost £49,000, was that of Charles Tiffin, the then Colonial Architect, and that the runner-up was the late F. D. G. Stanley. The selection of the design was entrusted to a Royal Commission consisting of members of both Houses of Parliament, with Sir Maurice O’Connell as chairman (*see* “ Votes and Proceedings, 1864”).

The year 1866 produced other incidents well worth recording. For instance, we find that in June a preliminary

meeting was held to advocate the construction of a line of railway between Ipswich and Brisbane, and that in the former session an elaborate series of resolutions on the same subject was proposed in the Legislative Council by the Hon. H. B. Fitz.

So early as 1866 we had accumulated a debt of £1,411,762, our expenditure being £718,961, and the population 87,775. Of sheep the squattoocracy had already acquired 5,574,358 and cattle 887,856, and we look back with yearning, longing eyes to the Brisbane advertisements of those days when prime beef was offered at 2d. per lb., subsequently reduced to 1½d., with a comment by a scribe of the time that the public must have been overcharged.

A curious semi-political paragraph appearing in a local paper of 30th May, 1866, refers to information communicated to the irrepressible Walsh, then member for Maryborough, that the Minister for Lands, Macalister, had had his house at Woodend painted and decorated at the expense of the country. Walsh offered to sift the matter to the bottom if his informant would come forward with detail. The paragraphist, who apparently was no partizan of Walsh's, goes on to ask what right the member for Maryborough had outside the walls of Woogaroo, for assuredly, if Macalister *did* use Government labour and material for private use, he took good care to pay for it; adding, as an afterthought apparently, that "he would be as mad as Mr. Walsh if he did *not*."

The Second Parliament closed with the fifth session on 23rd May, 1867, after ten days' labour, and so did the career of the second Macalister Government, for, the Premier having explained that Douglas had exchanged the office of Colonial Treasurer for that of Secretary of Public Works, and that it had not been deemed necessary for him to resign his seat, it was moved by Pugh and carried against the Government, "That the seat of the Honourable John Douglas hath become and is now vacant by reason of his acceptance of office as Secretary for Public Works." Thereupon Macalister advised His Excellency to dissolve Parliament, which he did by proclamation of 23rd May,

1867, taking the opportunity of thanking members for their "constant and loyal co-operation." There was no legislation this session.

It was just before the date on which Parliament began its work for the year that the railway to Toowoomba was opened on 30th April, 1867.

X The Third Parliament met on 6th August, 1867, and here we find for the first time the genial medico Kevin Izod O'Doherty, as member for Brisbane. No man was better known in his day. Starting his career from what was then known as an Irish rebel, he subsequently represented the metropolis of the colony, and ended as a member of the British House of Commons.

X And on to the new stage also came a brilliant lawyer, James F. Garrick (years afterwards Sir James Garrick, Agent-General); that fine old polished gentleman Archibald Archer, of Gracemere; Robert Ramsay, of Eton Vale; T. Henry Fitzgerald; John Scott, who became Chairman of Committees; Graham Mylne; A. M. Francis; George Clark from Warwick; A. B. Pritchard, whose restless energy is inherited by Harry Pritchard, of the Australian Sugar Producers' Association; Henry Thorn; and last, George Thorn, junior (destined to have an ephemeral existence as Premier).

Apparently Parliament did not want any more Arthur Macalister as leader, for on 7th August Mackenzie moved quite an elaborate motion of want of confidence. It was not carried, but the vote was so close that the Government declined to carry on.

At the opening of this session the Governor called special attention to the growth of the population to 96,172 at the end of 1866.

Modern legislators will note with interest that on one day at the opening of the session Lilley gave notice of the introduction of thirty new Bills, and other Ministers of seven.

On 15th August, 1867, Robert Ramsay Mackenzie formed his Ministry, including Arthur Hunter Palmer, Arthur Hodgson, Pring, E. W. Lamb, and Murray-Prior in the Council. So early in our history we established a record which has never yet been beaten. Sixty-nine further Bills were brought in and forty-eight were passed, including the Constitution Act.

Though party feeling ran high in these times, yet for an unexplained reason it seemed possible to get through more work in less time without those comparatively modern adventitious aids the "closure" and "guillotine." In the list of Bills for the session one finds almost the entire alphabet represented, among them being many legal efforts, Lilley and Pring vying with each other in the passage of many technical measures such as the District Courts Act, Equity Act, Small Debts Act, and the Interdict Act. Lilley was an exceptionally industrious legislator, and proposed in this one session no less than thirty-three new laws. It was in this year that the Polynesian Labourers Act saw the light for the first time. Quite late in the session Pritchard obtained permission to introduce a Bill "to enable the Government of Queensland to grant facilities to a trading company for the construction of a line of railway from Ipswich to Brisbane," but when seven days before the session closed the Order of the Day for the second reading of the Bill was called, no member offering any motion thereto, it dropped. Modern legislators will note with interest that a "Frauds at Elections Bill" was introduced but withdrawn.

The public Press of this period records that the audiences who attended the sittings of Parliament were not so entirely select and respectable as could be desired. A confiding agriculturist attended one of the sittings of the Legislative Assembly about the 26th September, 1867, and had his pocket picked of from ten to fifteen shillings.

Another amusing incident of the period is well worth recording. During his Parliamentary career Walsh had always been a faithful and almost quixotic guardian of the public purse, and we find him in the year 1867 moving the

adjournment of the House to call attention to unauthorised expenditure on the part of the Government, who had outraged the Constitution to such an extent as to spend without Parliamentary authority the sum of £1 15s. on a candlestick for the bedroom of the Prince de Condé, who was about to stay at Government House. Further strong resentment was shown at the expenditure of £260 10s. 10d. on bedroom furniture for the same distinguished visitor. "If," declared Walsh dramatically, "it takes £260 10s. 10d. to furnish the bedroom of a French prince, in the name of Heaven what would it cost to receive a genuine, live English prince?"

The session of 1867 was marked by the carrying of a resolution affirming the desirableness of making a grant of land to Captain the Honourable Louis Hope as a reward for his successful demonstration of the suitability of the Queensland climate to the growth of sugar-cane. Captain Hope was undoubtedly the pioneer and founder of our greatest agricultural industry.

Some amusement will be afforded to present-day legislators when they are informed of the usage of the year 1867 (and indeed much later) in regard to Parliamentary etiquette. We find in that year a motion by Walsh declaring—

"That it is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution and imperils the due formation of the representative Assembly when members of the Legislative and Executive Councils take part in electioneering proceedings."

It is well within recollection when it was considered a high crime and misdemeanour for one member of the Assembly to speak, without invitation, in the constituency of another, but the absurdity of such an unwritten law in these modern days will be apparent on the most superficial view. The idea no doubt had its origin in a very ancient resolution of the House of Commons declaring any interference by a Lord of Parliament with a Commons election "a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons."

This was the last session opened by His Excellency Sir George Ferguson Bowen, who terminated his connection with Queensland on the 4th January, 1868. Truly he may be considered one of the great empire-builders of a great nation. In days when representatives of the Crown in distant dominions exercised a greater influence than they do to-day, he brought to our baby colony a keen intellect and a mature experience, and set a high standard in the conduct of public affairs. Queensland should honour his memory as a cultivated gentleman who did much in laying truly the foundation of a prosperous State.

Colonel Sir Maurice Charles O'Connell occupied the position of Administrator from the first Governor's departure to 14th August, 1868, and shortly before the session closed on the 4th March the brief visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh had come to a close.

It is to be noted here that Albert Norton came temporarily into the Council in 1867, and that up to the end of 1870 we find the additional names of J. J. Galloway, J. F. Garrick, C. B. Whish, afterwards Superintendent of Roads, who was lost in the "Quetta" wreck; and Gilbert Elliott.

The first session of 1868, being the second of the Third Parliament, was opened by Sir Maurice O'Connell as Administrator. Parliament only sat for seven days, a motion of want of confidence being moved by Francis on 4th August. This was carried by 13 to 11. Sir Maurice O'Connell declined to accept advice on the Parliamentary situation pending the arrival of the new Governor, Colonel Samuel Wensley Blackall, who assumed office on 14th August, 1868.

On 12th August Mackenzie had named 16th August as the day on which he would make a statement to the House on the ground that on the previous Tuesday there would be a total eclipse of the sun, but whether the eclipse of the Ministry and the eclipse of the sun were in any way correlated does not appear from official records.

On 19th August, Parliament having thanked Her Majesty for a presentation to the Library of copies of "The Early Years of His Royal Highness, the Prince Consort," and "Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands," Mackenzie intimated that His Excellency refused to grant a dissolution or to accept the resignation of the Ministry, a redistribution of seats being then imminent which would, under ordinary circumstances, necessitate a dissolution. The Assembly disagreeing to this course, a dissolution was ultimately granted. There was no legislation during this session of seven days' duration.

The Fourth Parliament met on the 17th November of the same year. The new names appearing on the roll of members are those of Oscar de Satgé, Simon Fraser and J. Malbon Thompson (an Ipswich solicitor), both of whom became Chairmen of Committees; John K. Handy, a lawyer from Mitchell, who edited an early edition of the Statutes and was the author of "The Queensland Magistrate"; Arthur Hodgson, a Warrego squatter; Samuel Hodgson, for West Moreton; Alexander Fyfe, Robert Francis Atkin, whose friends erected a memorial to him at Sandgate which is to be seen as one approaches that seaside resort; he was one of the founders of the "Express" newspaper, which had a short career in Brisbane, and it is said that his son became a well-known member of the English Bar; H. C. Williams, E. L. Thornton, and J. R. Benson. Last came Thomas McIlwraith, that vigorous Scot who was destined at a later stage to make a great impression upon the Parliament of Queensland. The Mackenzie Government had not long to wait for their congé, being saved from actual defeat, on an amendment moved by Francis on the Address in Reply, only on the casting vote of Mr. Speaker Eliott.

It was on 20th November, 1868, that Eliott gave no less than four casting votes in favour of the Government—an unusual circumstance never since repeated. The Mackenzie Government resigned, and on 25th November the brilliant Lilley, afterwards Sir Charles Lilley, Chief Justice, formed his Administration, in which were included

from start to finish T. B. Stephens, Arthur Hodgson, T. H. Fitzgerald, Macalister, Taylor, Pring, Douglas (who became Agent-General), and St. George Gore in the Council.

Commenting on the political situation at this time, which was marked by an incredible amount of bitterness and venom, we find a leading journal putting on record the following memorable words:—

“Of all the cantings that are canted in this canting world the cant of statesmanship and patriotism in Queensland has proved the most contemptible. The blindest and most enthusiastic advocate of what is called ‘responsible government’ in the colonies must now admit with sorrow and shame that the whole thing is a hollow mockery—a wretched, low, stupid farce not worthy of being decently damned—fit only to be hooted off the stage as an insult even to the gods. Responsible government indeed! Why, the very words now stink in the nostrils of every respectable, honest man. We here confess candidly that we could almost make up our minds to form one of a mob to drive the present miserable horde of so-called representatives of the people from the precincts of the people’s Chamber which they so wantonly pollute.”

Only two measures were passed during the entire session, which lasted for thirty days—an Appropriation Bill and the Queensland Insurance Company’s Bill. The second reading of the Additional Representation Bill met with misfortune, the motion being rescinded in consequence of the constitutional number of members not being present.

You will note with great interest that Mackenzie in this session introduced a measure for the Sewerage and Drainage of Cities and Towns. It did not pass, and to-day, forty-seven years afterwards, we find the metropolis of the State, with over 160,000 inhabitants, muddling along with a sanitary system which would disgrace a community of savages. Lilley introduced a novel measure to “Incorporate the Bar of Queensland,” but its progress was stopped by prorogation.

The session’s record would not be complete without reference to an attempt made by the President of the Legislative Council to limit the number of appointments to the Council to two per year, but the Bill was ordered to be read a second time six months hence.

In the second session of the Fourth Parliament Lilley secured the passage of seventeen measures, among which were the Pastoral Leases Act and the Lunacy Act. His Electoral Revision Bill lapsed in Committee, and the session closed still with no redistribution of seats. The Manufacturing Industries Act, fathered by Groom, granted a bonus of £1,500 for cotton goods of the value of £1,500 manufactured from cotton grown in the colony.

The attention of members of local authorities interested in the development of local government is called to an elaborate series of resolutions proposed by Lilley during this session, in which he desired to affirm the principle of local government and set out sixty-five purposes for which local governing bodies should be formed. The first resolution, affirming the desirableness of establishing local governments, was negatived by 10 votes to 9. Much credit must be given to this far-sighted politician when considering the origin and gradual evolution of our very complete system of local government. The coping-stone of the session's record was a Treasury Bills Bill, and so far as Bills introduced by private members are concerned it should be said that the mantle of Blakeney had fallen on Forbes, who tried hard, without success, for Triennial Parliaments.

It was in 1869 that Manning, Under Colonial Secretary, was furiously assaulted in his office, and Parliament in a panic handsomely pensioned him and his wife.

For the benefit of lawyers it is desirable to mention that even at this early stage in our history the Legal Practitioners Bill had had a chequered career and had been rejected twice.

We arrive here at what may fairly be called another milestone in our career, for Parliament was summoned for the first time to meet "in George street, in the city of Brisbane." I take leave to doubt whether forty-eight years ago the baby colony was justified in its Legislative Palace Building. Something much more modest and less costly would have served the purpose equally well for many years.

We come now to the first session of 1870, being the third session of the Fourth Parliament. There were lightning changes in those days. A hostile amendment by J. P. Bell on the Address in Reply, carried by 17 votes to 6, led to the downfall of the Lilley Ministry, and after less than a year in office they retired. The session only lasted six days.

The year 1870 is conspicuous for a very early example of State enterprise. From a copy of an Executive minute of 11th January, 1870, it would appear that the State was—

“Entirely at the command and caprice of one steam company (the Australasian Steam Navigation Company) who had at sundry times created much public vexation by omitting to bring on English mails from New South Wales, by the irregularity of their service with Northern Ports, and their exorbitant demands for subsidies.”

After a good deal of negotiation a contract was entered into with Thomas Sutcliffe Mort, of Sydney, for the construction of one or more steamers for the Queensland Government, the first to cost £16,500 and subsequent steamers £16,000 each. The specification provided for vessels of 184 feet length, 23.6 feet beam, 15.6 feet depth, and 480 gross tonnage. Under this agreement, which was the work of Lilley—though his Treasurer, T. B. Stephens, tried to throw cold water on the project—the handy little steamer “Governor Blackall” was constructed and used for some time, but a proposal to add to the fleet at a later date was not entertained by Parliament (*see* “Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly,” 2nd session, 1870).

From time to time we come across strange records of strange election proceedings which are happily impossible in these days; probably not for the reason that candidates and others are more scrupulous, but because of the greater stringency of the electoral laws. At the election for Northern Downs in 1870 we find a startling example of the free-and-easy methods of the past. At the declaration of the poll in Dalby the returning officer made some caustic remarks regarding personation. Supporters of the candidates had, he said, unwisely and unscrupulously induced

ignorant men to vote in other persons' names. It appears that a large number of Ipswich men, described as "an ignorant rabble," had invaded the electorate (presumably at someone's instigation) and had recorded votes which they did not possess. The successful candidate on this occasion, referring to a prominent politician of the day, said he had openly avowed that he had succeeded in increasing a small number of votes into a large number before then in some electorates, and he appeared to revel in the opprobrium arising from such malpractices. There is another remarkable instance of 200 cases of personation occurring at an election for West Moreton. Even in much more modern times, as you will see later on, persons bent upon securing seats in the Legislature adopted rough-and-ready means of registering a majority of votes, but one cannot justly say that in these days there is any appreciable amount of fraud at elections.

The Palmer Ministry followed the Lilley Ministry. It included at various periods Robert Ramsay, J. P. Bell, W. H. Walsh, J. Malbon Thompson, C. J. Graham as Secretary for Public Lands who afterwards presided over the Education Department, John Bramston, and Murray-Prior. The latter seemed to be a sort of journeyman Minister, and had his prototype in after years in A. H. Barlow.

There was no legislation whatever in the first session of 1870. Immediately on the opening of the second session in July of the same year the Ministry were attacked by Macalister with a want of confidence motion, the burden of grievances being—No encouragement to colonial industries, no railway policy, no reference to Northern separation, and no attempt to provide for additional representation, and the repeal of the two-thirds clause of the Constitution Act. The amendment was carried by 17 votes to 12. Palmer thereupon advised a dissolution, which was granted by the Governor. Thus the second session, which lasted only five days, also proved barren.

I may be permitted here to refer to the election to the Queensland Parliament of the late Right Honourable John

Bright. A vacancy had arisen in the representation of the Kennedy electorate; a writ was issued, and John Bright duly returned. No such person appearing to be sworn between July, 1869, and July, 1870, the Speaker said that it appeared to him that the member for Kennedy had been absent for one whole session and that the seat had become vacant. The seat was subsequently declared vacant on the motion of Palmer. I am not able to trace the origin of this joke.

Palmer came back with a majority in the Fifth Parliament, which met on 16th November, 1870, and he reigned until 8th January, 1874. This was the third session in one year. His appears to have been the first really stable Ministry, all preceding ones having had a more or less meteoric career.

The new blood introduced by an appeal to the people consisted of the somewhat glib and brilliant young lawyer E. O'D. MacDevitt; B. B. Moreton, H. E. King, who afterwards became Speaker; beyond middle age he read for the Bar and closed his career as a Crown Prosecutor. This Parliament also produced James Morgan, who was the father of the late Sir Arthur Morgan, and attained the position of Chairman of Committees. John Johnston and John Bramston also were returned to this Parliament. Gilbert Elliott had come to the end of his sixteen sessions as Speaker. He was pensioned and passed to the Legislative Council. Arthur Macalister was chosen as Speaker. It was an astute move of Palmer's to comfortably shelve a keen opponent.

For a review of the moral and intellectual progress of Queensland for the ten years 1860 to 1869 inclusive, I refer those interested to a return published in the "Votes and Proceedings" for 1870, page 443. Palmer introduced forty-two Bills in this session and passed twenty-two. Amongst them the Electoral Districts Bill failed for want of a two-thirds majority. One notes with interest in these latter days that Lilley tried to abolish the two-thirds provision in the Constitution Act this year, but the Legislative Council would have none of the measure.

The laws passed were of minor importance. Lilley, whose strong point was education, was unusually active as a private member during the session, and made an heroic endeavour to pass a Grammar Schools Scholarship Endowments Bill, and he did pass an Act to Promote Classical and Scientific Education, with the misleading title of "The University Act," which made it lawful to hold local examinations authorised by any University of Great Britain or Ireland. The Goldfields Homestead Act of this year was the work of King.

The session closed on the 23rd December. His Excellency Colonel Samuel Wensley Blackall died during the recess on 2nd January, 1871. Early colonists with whom I have conversed speak of him as a man of much charm of manner and a tactful Administrator at a difficult period of our history. He was succeeded on 14th August, 1871, by the Most Honourable George Augustus Constantine, Marquis of Normanby.

The session of 1871 produced forty-one Bills, of which only six became Acts of Parliament. Land Bills in a variety of forms were introduced but got no further, and a search of the records would indicate that there was an avalanche of unofficial Bills, amongst them being an Additional Members Bill introduced by Atkin; none of these became law. Malbon Thompson took up the running with the Legal Practitioners Bill, but was as unsuccessful as his predecessors. Apparently the session was monopolised by the Bills of private members. In modern days, with the limitation of time for private members' business, such a condition of affairs happily has become impossible. It was in this session that the first effort was made to assert the principle of payment of members by a motion proposed by Fyfe, which was carried by 16 votes to 12. Fyfe was undoubtedly the pioneer of the movement, but he did not live long enough to realise his dreams. After all it was only a pious expression of opinion in those days.

Parliament had been dissolved in June, 1871, and the Sixth Parliament met on 7th November of the same year.

There came on the scene for the first time William Hemmant, for East Moreton, a member of the firm of Stewart and Hemmant. He immortalised himself at a later date, but I must not anticipate. Boyd D. Morehead also made his débüt. For years he was the joker of the House. In his very best days his vibratory wit smoothed out many a tangle and turned the wrath of angry politicians into flippant laughter. As a stonewaller, in days when there was no limitation of speeches, he was inimitable, and those who can carry their memories back to the period when he was at his best will at this distant date laugh over his famous lecture on the bone-eating sheep. But expressing a personal opinion I think his humour was too all-pervading and ever-present to be always appreciated. One likes to be serious sometimes, and it is doubtful if he ever was. Nevertheless he was a kindly-hearted, impetuous man who at critical moments converted what threatened to be a tragedy into a farce. Other debutantes were Walter Scott, John Burnett, Edmond Thornton, and A. B. Buchanan. But what distinguished this new gathering most was the advent of that brilliant, incisive lawyer Samuel Walker Griffith, who to-day towers above all the lawyers of Australia as Federal Chief Justice, and who, from the day he entered Parliament until he left to become Chief Justice of Queensland, proved himself to be a clever parliamentarian, a strong party leader, and an astute lawyer. I hope it is not presumptuous on my part to refer to my memory of Sir Samuel Griffith. In addition to his great learning it seemed to me that his success was attributable partly to the strong faith he had in himself. He compelled other men to think that he could do things better than they could (and it was true in most cases), from the drafting of complicated amendments to the choosing of a new carpet for the Legislative Assembly Chamber. A strange trait in his character was that he never entirely pleased himself. One watched him re-cast an amendment five or six times, and he then left the impression that he could do it twice as well in the privacy of his own study. He narrowly escaped being a native-born Queenslander,

and it is regrettable that he was not. It would have been a great thing to have been able to claim so great a man as a Queensland product.

A pause is necessary here to record the additions to the Legislative Council between the 70's and 80's. They comprised James Taylor, Samuel Hodgson, W. F. Lambert, Dr. John Mullan, F. H. Hart, W. H. Long, W. D. Box, A. H. Brown, F. T. Gregory, Robert Ramsay, Gordon Sandeman, Wm. Wilson, A. B. Buchanan, George Thorn, junior, C. S. Mein, a solicitor who became a Supreme Court Judge; T. B. Stephens, George Edmondstone, Dr. Kevin O'Doherty, J. C. Foote, William Pettigrew, James Swan, J. S. Turner, James Cowlshaw, C. S. D. Melbourne, C. H. Buzacott, W. H. Walsh, Frank Ivory, Wm. Aplin, and B. D. Morehead. You will observe how common a practice it was to elevate to the Council men who had previously been in the popular Chamber.

It is the popular Chamber chiefly that has to be dealt with; it is there that history is made; but very many of our Councillors served an apprenticeship in the Assembly and were translated to a quieter sphere for services rendered.

The new Parliament elected Frederick Augustus Forbes as Speaker. Those of you who are interested will find a fine portrait gallery of the Speakers of the Legislative Assembly on the walls of the Parliamentary Dining-room.

Only four small, unimportant measures found their way on to the Statute-book in the session of 1871-72, which terminated on 19th January. It is worthy of note that Dr. O'Doherty took preliminary steps towards repealing the Polynesian Labourers Act.

The 1872 session added twenty-two laws to the Statute-book, and here we see the hand of Griffith as a legislator, his first effort being the Telegraphic Messages Act. A Health Act was passed by Dr. O'Doherty, and the Home-stead Areas Act by Thompson. The Electoral Districts Act, enlarging the Parliament, redeemed this session from inconsequence. The Government went into a peaceful recess and met again for the last session of the Parliament

on 28th May, 1873. One notes again the Equity Procedure Act by Griffith with which he was successful, and the Elections Act Amendment with which he failed. A Payment of Members Bill was fathered by the Premier, but did not pass. Altogether the session was uneventful and unfruitful.

The new distribution of seats provided for the division of the colony into forty-two electorates each returning one member. The population on 31st December, 1871, was 125,000, so that it would appear as if representation in the Legislature in those days was of a comprehensive character.

The Seventh Parliament assembled on 6th January, 1874, William Henry Walsh being elected Speaker. It was a very much enlarged Legislative Assembly, and in it we find many very familiar names: James Foote, from Ipswich; Charles Hardie Buzacott, a distinguished press-man from Rockhampton, and famous as the author of the first Divisional Boards Act; R. S. Lord; the feeble-framed but brainy and eloquent John Murtagh Macrossan; Peter McLean, E. W. Pechey, John Pettigrew, Wm. Fryar, a learned man who closed his life as Chief Inspector of Mines; R. M. Stewart, James R. Dickson, who became a Premier and Commonwealth Minister, a politician with a hankering after long words and obscure phrases. An announcement of his to the effect that "No thaumaturgic process has yet been invented by which the low valleys of comatose trade may be galvanised into active centres of business energy" was characteristic of the man. No one could accuse Dickson of being a disciple of Oliver Goldsmith's simplicity. The voluble and clever W. O. Hodgkinson also came to this Parliament, and Francis Beattie, the Queen-street hatter, who anglicised the Latin tongue and insisted upon resolutions being taken "seriatimly" and everything being done "bona-fidely."

Other additions were—Frank Ivory, who went to the Council ultimately and came back to the Assembly as Clerk-Assistant (without reflecting on Ivory, who proved himself an excellent officer, one cannot help expressing a personal opinion as to the wicked injustice of displacing a parliamentary officer, who by industry and long service had

earned promotion, by a needy politician) ; John Stevenson, Morehead's partner ; P. F. MacDonald, who became famous for his claim against the Government for £16,000 for losses sustained by being deprived of certain runs in the Leichhardt district ; he obtained a verdict which remained unsatisfied for years until Griffith came into office and honoured the mandate of the Supreme Court ; Jacob Low, the fat man from Balonne ; Adam Black and Adam Walker, Wm. Graham, F. T. Amhurst, W. G. Bailey, Henry Rogers Beor, from Bowen, to become an Attorney-General ; J. de Poix Tyrel, a man of great bulk from the Border ; W. E. Murphy, James Johnson, J. G. Kidgell, De Burgh Persse, the Master of the Galway Blazers ; Paddy Perkins, who almost always was wrecked when he went to sea ; George Grimes and the kindly George Fox ; R. A. Kingsford, Walter Scott, P. H. Nind, A. J. Hockings, a Queen-street seedsman ; and John Macfarlane, who spent his Parliamentary life warring with the Parliamentary bar. It was a brainy Parliament. The two Arthurs—Palmer and Macalister—faced each other, and the test of strength came over the election of Speaker. The Government proposed John Scott, and Macalister proposed Walsh. Walsh was elected, and Palmer's Government resigned.

Macalister followed with his third Ministry, which included at different times Stephens, Fryar, Hemmant, MacDevitt, Griffith, and McIlwraith (working together for a few months), King, Dickson, and George Thorn in the Council. Looking back it is strange to see the great leaders Griffith and McIlwraith in collaboration, then in subsequent years to see them bitter foes, and at the close of their Parliamentary careers once more united in the same Ministry.

Walsh, so far as my recollection serves, was the only Speaker who ever used a gavel. "Order, Gentlemen, Order!" and his irritable tapping of his desk with his little ivory mallet, are familiar recollections.

This Parliament of five sessions lasted until 10th September, 1878, and the laws passed during that period included many useful pieces of domestic legislation. In the

first session fifty Bills were introduced and twenty-five passed, including the Insolvency Act and an amendment of the Constitution relating to Minister's salaries. The Council rejected a Payment of Members Bill and the Deceased Wife's Sister Marriage Bill introduced by Pechey, and at this early date Buzacott tried and failed to establish a statute day for labour. The Election Laws were also overhauled in this session. Griffith put upon the Statute-book the State Education Act and the Matrimonial Causes Act, in the session of 1875. The Western Railway Act, providing for the construction of the line from Dalby to Roma, was introduced and passed by King; and a Loan Bill for £1,695,000 was an important feature of the session.

In the third session Walsh resigned from the Speakership, for the candid reason that "I am unable to secure for the Chair that proper amount of respect which its occupant should always command," and was succeeded by Henry Edward King.

The laws passed this year included the Insolvency Act Amendment Act, the Judicature Act, and yet another Loan Act. It was a poor legislative year that did not add something to our indebtedness. The Land Laws were amended; two attempts to provide for members' expenses failed; the Navigation Act was passed by Dickson; nobody took much interest in providing a statute day for labour which Buzacott initiated; and the Queensland National Bank was authorised to open and keep registers of shareholders in places beyond the colony.

The fourth session, in 1877, produced twenty-six more Acts of Parliament, including the Intestacy Act, which was reserved for the Royal assent; and in that year they began to destroy marsupials by Act of Parliament. This was also the year of the Railway Reserves Act, the Chinese Immigration Regulation Act, and the Deceased Wife's Sister Marriage Act. Up to this period, and indeed to a later date, there appear to have been more opportunities afforded to private members to try their 'prentice hands at legislation, but the press of business in these days is too great to allow of much time being occupied

upon fads or in academic discussion. One finds in earlier times private members dealing with the Law of Deodands, the Regulation of Ancient Lights, and similarly abstruse subjects; but to-day there is little time for the faddist, and even a proposal to abolish the sale of liquor in Parliament House would not now be regarded with the same earnestness as it used to be. It is to be noted that during the session Garrick secured the passage of an Act to Prevent and Punish Disorderly Conduct in Places of Religious Worship. Any person guilty of "disorderly, violent, or indecent behaviour in a church, chapel, or meeting-house" rendered himself liable to detention in a house of correction for two months.

The fifth session, in 1878, closed the Parliament, and was productive of a further distribution of seats. A retrograde and undemocratic move was made by creating thirteen divisions returning two members each, the other twenty-nine being single electorates.

The Public Works Lands Resumption Act and the Local Government Act were passed in this year, and it will revive an almost obsolete word when mention is made of the fact that it was proposed to legislate on the subject of "turnpikes."

Two changes of Government had taken place during the currency of this Parliament. In June, 1876, Macalister had resigned. He had been assailed by a motion of want of confidence moved by Macrossan, but it was defeated by a narrow majority. This vigorous politician withdrew from public life and a new Government was formed by George Thorn, who created a precedent by holding the Premiership in the Council. It was composed of Douglas, R. M. Stewart, Griffith, and Dickson, with C. S. Mein in the Council. The Thorn Ministry was regarded more or less as a humorous production and lasted only nine months. It was reconstructed during the recess on 8th March, 1877, and the Douglas Ministry met the House on 24th April. A scribe of the day, referring to the supplanting of Thorn, says—

"But the noble George, whose greatest political work, like that of Caius S. Gracchus, was that in which he did least, and whose legislative successes sink into insignificance by the side of the real

grandeur of his extensive failure, recognising the fact that he who would keep himself constantly sailing before the wind raised by the breath of applause must be for ever on some new tack, wisely determined not to face another audience as the leading heavy man."

The Marquis of Normanby's term of office had expired on 12th November, 1874. There had been a short interregnum, and on 23rd January, 1875, Mr. William Wellington Cairns, C.M.G. (afterwards Sir William Cairns), had assumed office as Governor.

The Douglas Ministry was composed of Griffith, Garrick, Dickson, Stewart, Miles, Peter McLean an ex-farmer, Thorn, and Mein, at different periods.

The Eighth Parliament met in January, 1879, after the general elections. Sir Arthur Kennedy had become Governor in 1877. King was re-elected Speaker. In the enlarged Assembly we find new names, of course:—Ernest James Stevens, a well-known patron of sport, always a consistent Independent, with wide knowledge as a squatter; John Deane, from Townsville; Lumley Hill, a critical and testy squatter from Gregory; Jacob Horwitz, the little German from Warwick; Francis Kates, the miller, another German from the constituency next door; J. Francis, G. M. Simpson, Robert Aland, James Lalor, J. S. Jessop, to become Chairman of Committees; John Govett, Arthur Rutledge, who became Attorney-General, and then a District Court Judge; William Kellett, Meston, whose chief sustenance was heathen mythology, and who was a thorn in the side of the "Hansard" staff; Albert Norton, who became Speaker; Angus Mackay, from South Brisbane; the genial T. Macdonald-Paterson; Wm. Rea, who adapted nursery rhymes to political exigencies; it is pathetic to think that this earnest enthusiast died as a member under circumstances of extreme poverty in days when there was no payment of members, and disguised his poverty to the last; Tom Price, who became famous as the champion of "the private boy, his private rabbits, and his private rabbit pie"; his arrest, and incarceration in a room with a glass door which afforded ready means of escape, is a humorous memory; Roger Sheaffe (said to have been a baronet by

right who would not hold the title); F. ff. Swanwick, schoolmaster and barrister; G. H. Davenport, John Walsh, Wm. Hendren, Wm. Baynes, the father of two popular Brisbane men; Hamilton, famed in the North as "Dr. Jack"; W. Lambert Fowles, father of the present Savings Bank Commissioner; Weld-Blundell, the polished; Albrecht Feez, the father of two legal luminaries; F. H. Stubbley, Pope A. Cooper (now Sir Pope Cooper, Chief Justice); the cynical and sarcastic Hume Black; he should be given credit for being the father of the great dairying industry by conceiving the idea of travelling dairies; C. E. Chubb, to become Attorney-General and go on the Supreme Court Bench; J. B. L. Isambert, another German; J. F. Buckland, McWhannell, another squatter; Henry Palmer, Stevenson's brother-in-law; Billy Paul, whose perpetual good humour was a tonic to the House; Sam Grimes, who became Chairman of Committees; the sturdy John Ferguson, the Rockhampton carpenter who struck Mount Morgan at its best; he was the father-in-law of J. T. Bell; William Allan, from Braeside; and Fred. Cooper, Sir Pope's cousin. I mention him last, for thereby hangs a tale. He was petitioned against after the election of 1883. There were four candidates for Cook—Campbell, Cooper, Hamilton, and Lumley Hill. Campbell and Hill were the petitioners. It was alleged that at California Gully only fourteen electors actually voted, yet the presiding officer certified that John Hamilton had secured 178 votes, F. A. Cooper 178, Lumley Hill 23, and Thomas Campbell 2. Similarly, at Halpin's Creek not more than twenty-five electors voted, though Hamilton was certified as securing 50 votes, Hill 7, Cooper 43, and Campbell 14. No one knows to this day who was responsible, but Cooper was unseated, and Campbell declared elected. In those days politicians and their agents conducted their business on a comprehensive scale.

Sir Maurice O'Connell had died on 23rd March, 1879, and Joshua Peter Bell (afterwards Sir Joshua) had been appointed as President of the Council. Toowong contains four magnificent monuments to the memory of two

Governors, Colonel Samuel Wensley Blackall and Sir Anthony Musgrave, and two Presidents, Sir Maurice O'Connell and Sir Joshua Peter Bell.

It was a grand collection of intellect that met in January, 1879. Never before nor since has any Parliament surpassed it. It is difficult to account for the fact that, while in modern days our Parliament contains able men, the science of legislation does not attract them in such numbers as it used to do. McIlwraith challenged Douglas on the Address in Reply and knocked him out by 32 votes to 10. He then formed his first Government, probably one of the strongest that Queensland has ever seen, led by much the most headstrong and autocratic politician that Queensland has known. Nevertheless in his autocracy he was benevolent, and a man of unusual kindness and generosity in private life. Up to 1883 his Ministry included Archer, Palmer, Malbon Thompson, Pring, Beor, Pope Cooper, Chubb, Buzacott, Morehead, Macrossan, Norton, and Perkins, with Frank Gregory leading the Council.

There were able men in the Council in those days, just as there are now, but the popular elective Chamber is chiefly where history has been made. Much as one would like, therefore, to set out in detail everything about everybody in both Chambers, it is not practicable. Even in the Assembly one has to pass lightly over incidents which, while amusing, are not historically of value.

The opening of the Parliament on 14th January was accountable for an unhappy accident. According to custom, no longer followed in recent years, a salute was fired from the old battery of muzzle-loaders in the Queen's Park, on the Governor leaving Government House to open Parliament. After each volley it was necessary to sponge out the barrels of the guns. In one case this operation had been carelessly performed, with the result that smouldering pieces of the last charge were left to ignite the new charge when rammed home. Two unfortunate gunners, Walsh and Wilkie, standing abreast of the muzzle, and ramming home the charge, were mortally injured.

There were no less than six sessions in the Eighth Parliament. The first only produced an Appropriation Act and then followed the strenuous second session, beginning on 13th May, 1879. Twenty-two more measures received the Royal assent, among them that monument of wisdom the original Divisional Boards Act, the Licensing Boards Act, an amendment of the Land Act of 1876, and the Life Insurance Act. The Coast Islands Act, annexing the islands lying between the continent of Australia and the island of New Guinea, was the conception of McIlwraith. Parliament was generous enough this year to pension the widow of the late Sir Maurice O'Connell. It was at this period also that a big contest occurred between the two Houses in regard to the power of amendment of money Bills by the Legislative Council. It has been a fertile source of friction. In our fifty-eight years of responsible government the Council has claimed to exercise this right on numerous occasions, and the Assembly has consistently resisted the claim, or, if giving way, making it perfectly plain that it did so without receding from the position that it alone had the controlling power over the purse. The biggest fight of all was over the Appropriation Bill No. 2 of 1885, when the amount for payment of members' expenses was "tacked" on to the Bill after the Payment of Members Bill had been thrown out by the Council. Then, after much negotiation and free conference, a case, upon which both Houses agreed, was stated for the Privy Council. For details I refer students of the subject to the "Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly," 1885, vol. 1, page 406. The Privy Council ruled emphatically in favour of the Legislative Assembly's contention, but the hoary old question still crops up at intervals with persistent energy, usually to be overcome by the exercise of a little good sense, tact, and compromise. The power of rejection of money Bills by the Council has never been disputed, however embarrassing it may be to the Government for the time being, and there are important modern cases in which it has been exercised, and in which the Council gave elaborate reasons for their action.

The sessions of 1880, 1881, 1882, and 1883 followed on with McIlwraith still at the helm and year by year fighting his uncompromising opponent, Griffith. 1880 produced twenty-four Acts, among which were the Local Works Loans Act, the Municipal Endowment Act, and the Railway Companies Preliminary Act. A Bill to encourage the manufacture of colonial wine was negatived by 23 to 8, while a Contractors Debts Bill and a Wages of Workmen Bill never came to maturity. But the *pièce de résistance* was the famous Steel Rails Petition of William Hemmant. This is much too important an historical item to pass over lightly, for it led to bitter feud between McIlwraith and Griffith. Hemmant had left Queensland and was in touch with business affairs in the world's metropolis. Tenders had been invited for 15,000 tons of steel rails for the Queensland Government. It was alleged that no invitation to tender had been extended to two of the largest manufacturing firms; that the tender of the Haslam Engineering Company at £9 18s. per ton was accepted; that the company were not rail-makers, and were obtaining the rails at £8 per ton. It was further alleged that others were interested in the transaction "whose connection therewith it would be highly advantageous to ascertain"; that the Government were well aware at the time of the passage of the Loan Act of 1879 that the price of steel rails was about £5 per ton; and finally, that McIlwraith, McEacharn, and Co. received the contract for the carriage of the rails in full ships only, at 38s. 6d. per ton, when it was well known that ships carrying other cargo would have quoted a lower freight. An additional charge was that McIlwraith, McEacharn, and Co. were the contractors for the conveyance of immigrants to the colony, and that, at the time the "Scottish Hero" sailed under contract with the Government to carry immigrants, Arthur Hunter Palmer and Thomas McIlwraith were joint owners of certain shares in the vessel. All these allegations led to bitter controversy, and for political purposes were exploited for all they were worth. A Select Committee was appointed to investigate the alleged scandal. A majority reported against the

allegations of Hemmant, and Griffith, Dickson, and McLean entered a lengthy protest report stating that the allegations of fact contained in the petition had been borne out, but that the real nature of the transaction was not fully disclosed. A Royal Commission consisting of the late George King of Gowrie, and F. W. Gibbs, C.B., Q.C., England, pursued further investigations in London, the net result of which was to rehabilitate those against whom the charges had been made. It is impossible here to further particularise the various phases of the squabble, but so important an event could not be ignored. The complete details will be found in volumes of the "Votes and Proceedings" for the years 1880 and 1881.

The proceedings of the Hemmant Select Committee very nearly led to the gaoling of John Douglas, who, in defiance of all Parliamentary law, furnished to the Press what purported to be a précis of the evidence. He was adjudged guilty of contempt for having "wilfully disobeyed an order of this Assembly"; and declining in a most defiant manner to apologise to the House, or explain his action, it was moved that he be committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. After animated debate the motion was withdrawn.

The historian who forgot to mention the attempt in this year to induce Parliament to ratify an agreement for a through steam service between London and Brisbane *viâ* Torres Strait would indeed be forgetful. This matter was before the Assembly for no less than fifteen sittings, and every phase of it was torn to tatters. In fact it was persistently obstructed, the Opposition being well aware that the contract had to be ratified before a fixed and definite date. This was not accomplished, but the masterful McIlwraith was equal to the occasion. He was determined to have a through mail service *viâ* Torres Strait, and on 12th October, 1880, he cabled to the company as follows:—

"The Legislative Assembly not having disagreed to the mail contract, it stands ratified. You can therefore now proceed with your arrangements for carrying it out. Agreement by steamer."

It looked like a bold and insolent defiance of Parliament, but it was very effective, and secured to Queensland what afterwards proved a great boon. (*See "Votes and Proceedings,"* Legislative Assembly, 1879, vol. 2, p. 837; 1880, vol. 2, pp. 1029, 1043.)

The session of 1881 added eighteen more Acts to the Statute-book. The unpopular Legal Practitioners Bill was at last piloted through by Hill in that year, though many persons think it has never justified its existence; and the Local Government Act, though hardly cold from the press, was amended. Griffith took up the cudgels on behalf of Triennial Parliaments, and did not score, and there were more Loan Bills in this and the previous year.

It is interesting to note that at this period Parliament pensioned Macalister to the extent of £500 a year. Macrossan secured the passage of the United Municipalities Act, and fire brigades were put upon a sound basis.

Sir Joshua Peter Bell died, universally lamented, on 20th December, 1881, and Sir Arthur Hunter Palmer succeeded him as President of the Legislative Council on 24th December of the same year.

Nineteen laws reached their final stages in the session of 1882. The Immigration Act was piloted through by McIlwraith, and the Indian Immigration Act Amendment Act had a rough and stormy passage. The laws relating to mineral lands and pastoral leases also came up for review. The Tramways Act became law, and Griffith was persistent in his endeavour to establish Triennial Parliaments and failed once more. The usual coping-stone was put upon the session's work in the shape of a Loan Act.

So we come down to the session of 1883, the last and most notable of the Eighth Parliament. Sir Arthur Kennedy left the colony on 2nd May, 1883, and died at Aden on the way home. He was succeeded on 6th November of the same year by Sir Anthony Musgrave, G.C.M.G.

The session only lasted nine days. The Stock Inscription Act was passed and then came the famous

“Transcontinental (Land Grant) Railway Bill,” introduced by McIlwraith, and defeated on the second reading by 27 votes to 16. A dissolution of the Parliament followed. The strong and masterful Premier had lost control of his supporters, and Land-grant Railways, being a new conception in this part of the world, were looked upon with much suspicion.

The political history of this period contains no more spectacular item than the bold action by Sir Thomas McIlwraith in 1883 in taking possession of what has been known for years as British New Guinea. In the light of modern history his *coup d'état* was a statesmanlike and far-sighted act. Mr. Frederick Young, Honorary Secretary in December, 1882, to the Royal Colonial Institute, had drawn the attention of the Agent-General for Queensland to an article in the “Allgemeine Zeitung” recommending the German Government to annex and colonise New Guinea. In February, 1883, Sir Thomas addressed a lengthy letter to Sir Arthur Kennedy on the subject. In the same month he cabled to the Agent-General telling him to urge upon the Imperial Government the importance of the annexation, Queensland offering to bear the expense. The correspondence between His Excellency and the Premier was forwarded to London, but Sir Thomas, apparently impatient of possible delay, or conscious of the risk of a foreign power stepping in, telegraphed on 20th March, 1883, to the then Police Magistrate at Thursday Island, Mr. H. M. Chester, ordering him to man the steamer “Pearl” and take formal possession in Her Majesty’s name of the whole island with the exception of the portion in occupation of the Dutch. This was accomplished on 3rd April, 1883.

But the end was not yet, for on 3rd July the Agent-General (Thomas Archer) cabled that Lord Derby in the Commons disallowed the annexation, stating that it would not be regarded as a friendly act by the other powers. McIlwraith was far too strong and dictatorial a man to be turned aside by the *ipse dixit* of the Colonial Office, and on 10th July, 1883, he submitted a very strong minute to the

Executive Council, urging concerted action on the part of the Australian Colonies to force the hand of the Colonial Office. The result was a lengthy and strongly argumentative memorandum addressed to the Colonial Office jointly by the Agents-General for the Colonies in London, dated 21st July, 1883, and much correspondence between the various Colonial Premiers. The history of this time is very interesting and the correspondence well worthy of perusal. A strong and united public sentiment had been worked up to give force to the master-stroke of McIlwraith, with the result that, if Australia did not gain all it had laid claim to, it at all events secured a firm footing in New Guinea with after results, dating from the commencement of the Great European War in August, 1914, which in time to come may have a big influence on history (*see* "Votes and Proceedings," Legislative Assembly, sessions 1883 and 1883-1884).

Griffith came into power as Premier for the first time in the Ninth Parliament, which opened in November, 1883, defeating McIlwraith on the election of Speaker on the opening day, and twice the following day on minor questions. William Henry Groom, one of whose sons has been a prominent and popular Federal politician for years and has held office more than once, was elected Speaker. So far as my own recollection goes he was the first and only Speaker who affected the full-bottomed wig. There may have been others, but if so the practice had fallen into desuetude, for his appearance in this garb caused quite a flutter of amusement at the time. His election was marked by an acrimonious and bitter debate which happily has not been repeated on similar occasions since.

Into this Parliament came more new blood. J. F. G. Foxton, afterwards both a State and Federal Minister, who proved himself a kindly and humane Home Secretary, and was the father of factory legislation; R. B. Sheridan, C. B. Dutton, to become famous over the 1884 Land Act and his Henry Georgian theories; J. L. Bale, Matthew Mellor, Alfred Midgley, an ex-Methodist clergyman; Peter White, John Hurley, Donald Wallace, from Clermont, who, if he

did not attain fame as a politician, at all events owned "Carbine" and won a Melbourne Cup; Hiram Wakefield, Robert Bulcock, responsible for adding a new word to our language—"bulcocking" the rolls was a familiar reproach in those days; Bill Smyth, the Gympie miner; the straight-going John Donaldson; Walter Adams, Wm. Pattison, the butcher and Mount Morgan millionaire; Jack Annear, afterwards Chairman of Committees; he made himself famous by declaring on an ever-memorable occasion, "Hi ham the Standing Horders"; the humorous little Isidor Lissner, who told the House in confidence, when making his maiden speech, that he was a very poor speaker but a very good "list'ner"; Frank Murphy, from Barcoo; Wm. Villiers Brown, a man with an uncanny memory for figures; John McMaster, the hoary local government authority, still going strong at nearly ninety years of age; and two other famous Scots of different types—the courtly, casual, and happy-natured Hugh M. Nelson, and Robert Philp who never escaped being personally popular during even the bitterest party struggles. They both were to become Premiers later on, and both secured the distinction of knighthood. And last of the new batch in that Parliament came Arthur Morgan, the Warwick native who followed his father in the representation of Warwick. The future had in store for him a great career—the Chairmanship of Committees, the Speakership, and the Premiership. He eventually became President of the Legislative Council and was knighted, and on numerous occasions acted as Lieutenant-Governor. The young men of to-day, studying the career of Sir Arthur Morgan, will find in it a fine example, and much to inspire them.

During the existence of his Ministry up to June, 1888, Griffith's colleagues were C. S. Mein, B. B. Moreton, W. Miles, C. B. Dutton, W. O. Hodgkinson, Garrick, Dickson, Sheridan, Macdonald-Paterson, Jordan, and Rutledge.

The first session was made conspicuous by important repeals of the Indian Immigration Act, the Railway Companies Preliminary Act, and Pacific Island Labourers

Act, in addition to which the Chinese Immigration Regulation Act was amended. These three measures were intended to put temptation out of the way of a political opponent should he ever reach office again. Sir Thomas Mellwraith in opposition endeavoured without success to establish by law a statute day for labour.

In the second session the *chef d'œuvre* was the famous Crown Lands Act of Henry Dutton, who propounded theories which staggered men in those days. Even at the head of affairs Griffith failed to establish the principle of Triennial Parliaments, and his Members' Expenses Bill was scornfully dealt with by the Legislative Council. Important subjects, such as Health, Insanity, and Patents, were dealt with by statutory enactment.

The recorder who failed to mention that the session closed with the now historical Ten-million Loan, under which it was contended at the time that every citizen was to have a railway siding at his back gate, would indeed be forgetful. We had not previously borrowed money on so vast a scale, and this new policy embraced a wide field of railway construction. Other measures dealt with in this year were the Registrar of Titles Act and the Officials in Parliament Act. Unlike the Parliaments of other States, the Queensland Parliament has never been conspicuous for floods of private legislation, but in this year no less than nine private Bills became law. The session of 1885 produced an Additional Members Bill, giving another member to Fortitude Valley, and creating the electoral districts of Barcoo and Musgrave. The Land Act of the previous year was amended, an Elections Act passed, and a foundation laid for our existing Commonwealth by the adoption of the Federal Council Act. Moreover, after a bitter struggle Griffith limited the introduction of Pacific Islanders to 31st December, 1890. A measure familiar to local authorities, the Undue Subdivision of Land Act, was Griffith's handiwork, but he failed to persuade the Legislative Council to pass the Members' Expenses Bill.

The session of 1886 produced thirty-six Acts passed and assented to. That eminently fair measure, the

Elections Tribunal Act, was Griffith's creation, and so was the Employers' Liability Act. The former was a great advance upon the old and party-biassed Elections and Qualifications Committee. It has since been improved upon, and disputed elections are now determined by a Supreme Court Judge with absolute certainty of justice being done. The Liquor Act, that humane measure the Offenders Probation Act, and the Trade Union Act were also the work of the Premier, and at long last he passed the Members' Expenses Act. In those days members were not paid for absenting themselves from duty, and received £2 2s. per sitting, with a maximum of £200, and a deduction for every day absent. The Labourers from British India Act was also repealed this year, and a Smuggling Laws Bill only reached its initial stage. The Ten-million Loan was still distributing itself broadcast over the land, so that we had no Loan Bill in this session.

In 1887 the Chairman made no report upon the Australian Naval Forces Bill, and the British New Guinea Bill was negatived on the second reading. Once more the distribution of seats was dealt with and we reached the seventy-two limit with twelve constituencies returning two members each, the balance being single electorates. The Divisional Boards Act was consolidated, the Real Property Office was decentralised, and the principle of the valuation of land on the unimproved value was first established.

This is the last session in which we find any record of a Prorogation Speech being delivered by the Governor, the work of the session in after years being terminated by a Prorogation Proclamation.

And so we come to the end of the Ninth Parliament, and open the Tenth in June, 1888, after a bitter election struggle in which McIlwraith smote his natural enemy hip and thigh. McIlwraith came into the field for North Brisbane at this election, opposing his fellow K.C.M.G. Griffith, and it became a question who would become the senior member for the metropolis. Those of you who stood in Adelaide street on polling day, near the Girls' Normal School, which was the polling booth, might have seen the

future Chief Justice of Australia swept down the street like a leaf on a stream by the angry crowd. His opponent won the place of honour, and he had to content himself by becoming the "junior" member. One is reminded by this of another North Brisbane election at which the arch-enemy of black labour, William Brookes, essayed to address a meeting in the old Albert Hall, but he had been preceded by an electioneering agent who represented other views, and who plentifully besprinkled the hall with crude carbon-bisulphide, with the result that the audience consisted of eight to twelve enthusiastic politicians holding their noses in their handkerchiefs!

On the first day of the session Griffith informed the House that he had tendered his resignation, and a new Government was formed by McIlwraith, and included Macrossan, Morehead, Black, Nelson, and Donaldson; that brainy and industrious lawyer, Thynne, in the Council; and Wm. Pattison, the Rockhampton butcher of Mount Morgan fame, without portfolio.

The kindly and lovable Albert Norton was unanimously elected Speaker.

Into this Parliament came that vigorous champion of the North, Alfred Sandlings Cowley, afterwards to fill Ministerial office and to become probably the most studious and painstaking Speaker of which our short Parliamentary history has record, and who was subsequently knighted. There came also George Agnew from Nundah, credited, rightly or wrongly, with the perpetration of a refreshment-room joke by shearing off one side of a long silken red beard which did not belong to himself. Other additions were—R. G. Casey, James Crombie, Robt. Dunsmure, John Murray, and F. R. Murphy, all squatters; Willie North, R. M. Hyne, Ernest Hunter, M. Battersby, M. B. Gannon, L. Goldring, W. H. Corfield, A. F. Luya, Robert Lyons, D. H. Dalrymple, the cynic and logician, absurdly nervous and quaintly humorous. He was a strange mixture of a bitter party politician with no mercy for his opponents, and a tender-hearted humanitarian. And there was J. G. Drake, late of "Hansard," the legal practitioner who

became Commonwealth Postmaster-General and Attorney-General, and subsequently a State Crown Prosecutor; Charles Powers, an early Brisbane Grammar School boy, who became State and Commonwealth Crown Solicitor and then was elevated to the High Court Bench; R. J. Sayers; F. T. Wimble, whom an alliterative humorist of the day christened "wicked Wimble"; Plunkett and R. H. Smith; Theo. Unmack, the German; George and Rees R. Jones; John Watson and A. J. Callan; Willie Stephens, a son of T. B., another B.G.S. boy; W. B. O'Connell, who became Secretary for Lands; W. C. Little, Arthur Morry, J. J. Cadell, Tom Glassey, the *avant courier* of the Labour party, who laid foundations upon which others have built well and truly, and who became a Commonwealth Senator; G. I. Hall; and T. J. Ryan, a shearer from Barcoo to help Glassey. The latter was not the same T. J. Ryan who, curiously enough, to-day represents the same constituency. A. H. Barlow, the ex-banker, made his debüt at this time. It was strange how, in after years, the loaves and fishes clung to him so tenaciously. Horace Tozer—afterwards Sir Horace, Agent-General—was a further addition. Someone described him as "a genial deluge of verbiage and erratic diction." And last came John Hoolan, the irresponsible wild man and latitudinarian from the North who, when he came to be understood, was one of the most popular of Labour men. He was distinguished for his appalling flow of adjectives which used to paralyse the House. If it were permissible one could tell a Parliamentary story associated with John Plumper Hoolan which easily out-distances any other local Parliamentary story for its sublime humour, but it is not a drawing-room incident, and finds no fitting place here. For the first time now we see that new Labour force in politics, destined to grow and grow and exercise so powerful an influence upon legislation.

It is desirable to mention at this stage the additions to the Council between the 80's and 90's. They included—W. Graham, W. Aplin, Morehead, who resigned and came back to the Assembly; James Taylor, Peter MacPherson, Thomas Rome, Sir A. H. Palmer, George King, A. J. Thynne, J. C. Smyth, E. B. Forrest, W. Thornton, A. C.

Gregory (afterwards Sir Augustus), W. Forrest, A. H. Wilson, F. H. Holberton, Macdonald-Paterson, F. T. Brentnall, J. D. Macansh, Dr. W. F. Taylor, H. C. Wood, B. B. Moreton, John Scott, James Lalor, Thornloe Smith, Dr. C. F. Marks, John Deane, W. Perry, Felix Clewitt, and T. J. Byrnes.

The first session of the new Parliament of 1888 under McIlwraith was not productive of very much useful legislation from a Government point of view, the most important measure being the Public Works Lands Resumption Act and a Railways Act. Griffith in a private capacity put upon the Statute-book an Act to Extend the Liability of Employers to Seamen, and this was the year when the Queensland Trustees were incorporated on the initiative of Powers, the Bill of the previous year, which Chubb introduced, not having become law.

McIlwraith only reigned from 13th June to 30th November, but he made history in that short time, and was the author of a surprise. On 4th September he tendered the resignation of the Ministry to Sir Anthony Musgrave, the cause whereof was outwardly trivial but constitutionally important. One Benjamin Kitt had been convicted of stealing two pairs of boots, valued at 40s., and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The Executive recommended the application of the Offenders Probation Act to the case, but the Governor declined the recommendation. Again the Executive recommended Kitt's release, and again the Governor declined to accept advice upon the subject, disputing the right of the Executive to exercise the Royal Prerogative apart from the approval of Her Majesty's representative.

McIlwraith resigned, but subsequently withdrew his resignation after the Governor had received authority from the Secretary of State to release Kitt, the constitutional point to be decided after the correspondence reached England.

It is doubtful whether colonial history contains an instance of so trivial an incident wrecking a Ministry.

Less than a month after, Sir Anthony Musgrave died, and it was said at the time that the worry of this incident contributed to, if it did not wholly cause, his death.

Students interested in this constitutional point will find the whole correspondence on the subject in the "Hansard" of 1888, vol. 55.

The Governor was succeeded on 1st May, 1889, by that famous soldier General Sir Henry Wylie Norman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E. No more popular Governor ever held office in this State. During his occupancy of the position he was appointed Governor-General of India—a fitting coping-stone to his great services as a servant of the Empire. Like a true soldier he obeyed the call, but immediately asked permission to resign on account of his advancing years.

The second session opened with Morehead as Premier, he having taken office on 30th November, 1888, upon the retirement through ill-health of McIlwraith, who, however, retained a seat in the Cabinet as Vice-President of the Executive Council. With him were associated Pattison, Donaldson, Thynne, Hume Black, Nelson, Macrossan, and Powers.

The session of 1889 produced twenty-nine new laws and a Ministerial crisis, for on 16th September McIlwraith resigned. The Cabinet hesitated over an item of the Loan Estimates for £40,000 for the Brisbane Central Station. McIlwraith wanted it spent and his colleagues did not, and a strong man who wants something and does not get it usually emphasises the position, which McIlwraith did in his headstrong manner.

Among the laws passed this year were an amended Land Act, a Mines Regulation Act, a Supreme Court Act, and a measure to restrict the use of totalisators. Griffith was unsuccessful with an Eight Hours Bill. As a Government measure the Payment of Members Act became law, and under it members were paid on the basis of £300 a year with a mileage allowance for travelling expenses. It was in this session that Tozer, that man of iron jaw, with other

members of the Opposition, established a reputation as a stonewaller. The Government had proposed a loan of £1,000,000 for railways, and the gravamen of the charge was that the items had not been particularised. Tozer spoke for eight hours on end on the subject, but in modern times this record has been badly beaten in the Federal Parliament. In this case the Government were obliged to agree to a compromise, and reintroduce the Estimates in another form. Griffith placed upon the Statute-book this year the Defamation Act. Legal reform received some attention at the hands of Powers, but the time was not ripe, and it does not appear to have ripened since.

The third session opened in June, 1890, with Morehead still in power, but the Government went out in August on Donaldson's proposal to impose a tax of one penny in the pound on the owners of real and personal estate over and above the first £500. One of the most vigorous opponents of this proposal was Morehead's late colleague Sir Thomas McIlwraith. An amendment by Griffith on the financial proposals was only defeated by two votes, and the Morehead Government resigned.

Griffith came back to office on 12th August, 1890, having coalesced with his one-time political enemy McIlwraith. Included in his Ministry were Hodgkinson, Unmack, Cowley, Tozer, W. H. Wilson, Nelson, who came over from the Opposition, with the brilliant Brisbane Grammar School boy T. J. Byrnes, as Solicitor-General, in the Council. It was Griffith who was responsible for putting Byrnes on the first step of the political ladder.

The two Governments that divided responsibility during this session produced thirty Acts of Parliament, amongst them being the Dividend Duty Act, Pastoral Leases Act, a Stamp Act, and a Loan Act. Morehead took up the cudgels on behalf of cremation, and Macrossan had visions of passing a Decentralisation Act and a Lien Act, but none of these measures came to maturity. Griffith introduced, but did not proceed with, an erudite measure entitled the "Elementary Property Law." It was a remarkable measure laying down certain first principles in

regard to the right of life, the right of freedom to the exercise of faculties, the right to take advantage of natural forces, the common property in land, and so on. The measure is well worth perusal by students of economics.

It was during Morehead's reign in the early part of the session that delegates were appointed to the National Australian Convention in Melbourne. Some interest may attach to the fact that in this year also Hyne of Maryborough introduced a Women's Suffrage Bill, but there was no enthusiasm on the subject. The amendment of the Constitution during the session, on the initiative of W. H. Groom, providing for Triennial Parliaments, was yet another milestone in the development of Parliamentary institutions. It is remarkable that so far-reaching an alteration in our Constitution should have been initiated and passed by an unofficial member.

Griffith and McIlwraith again met the House in 1891, putting up a record of thirty-eight Acts of Parliament, including a Crown Lands Act, Defence Act, District Courts Act, Special Sales of Land Act, and others too numerous to mention. The Australian Naval Force Act became law this year. A Workmen's Lien Bill was not returned from the Council, and the Agricultural Lands Purchase Bill, introduced by Cowley, was dropped. Powers, who was somewhat of an iconoclastic lawyer, tried to introduce Courts of Conciliation without success.

The fifth session began in March, 1892, its most conspicuous and regrettable feature being that it translated Griffith to the position of Chief Justice at £3,500 a year under the Chief Justice's Salary Act. An Electoral Districts Act divided the district of Burke into Burke and Croydon, each with one member. Other measures passed had relation to Crown Lands, Elections, Harbours, Totalisator Tax, and the Construction of Railways by Land Subsidy.

Griffith had become a convert to the necessity for the introduction of the kanaka, and repealed the Act of 1885 limiting his introduction to December, 1900. It was a

generous act remembering his bitter animosity against the black man a few years earlier. As showing the feeling of the sugar districts in those days, one remembers well the Mackay toast "D.S.G.," which stood for "Damn Sam Griffith."

Honourable members were faced with a grave calamity this year when by an amendment of the Payment of Members Act, introduced by Griffith, their salaries were reduced to £150 per annum.

After the retirement of Sir Samuel Griffith the Ministry was reconstructed by Sir Thomas McIlwraith on 27th March, 1893, who took in Lissner, succeeded by Robert Philp, who here began a long career of usefulness.

There was an appeal to the country, and the Eleventh Parliament met on 25th May, 1893, Cowley being chosen as Speaker. The Labour Party had been strongly reinforced at the elections, and here we find for the first time that industrious Scotchman Andrew Fisher, who ultimately became Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, and is now Australian High Commissioner in London. There came also into the Parliament Henry Daniels, John Dunsford, Robert King, Harry Turley the wharf labourer, who became Senator and President of the Senate; Cross, and Anderson Dawson. The last-named formed the first Queensland Labour Ministry, that lived for six days. He afterwards became Commonwealth Minister for Defence. Other additions were Matt. Reid, now a Senator; George Kerr, the Barcoo blacksmith, who later on attained Ministerial rank; and there was the kindly George Jackson who pioneered old-age pensions, became Chairman of Committees and a Minister, and always had the aged and infirm under the shadow of his sheltering wing; H. F. Hardacre, an earnest politician who became the first Labour Lands Minister, and is now in charge of the Education Department; he has the distinction now of being the "father of the House"; Charlie McDonald, who became a Standing Order expert, and then drifted to the Speakership of the House of Representatives; "Billy" Browne, the Croydon miner, always kindly and popular, who led the Opposition

later on; Rawlings, Wilkinson, and Ogden. They were all there full of newborn zeal for a newborn cause. And there came into this Parliament too John Leahy, afterwards to become Speaker, rough and crude in some respects, but masterful, and with a marvellous faculty for quotation; George Phillips, a pioneer surveyor; Jason Boles, W. D. Armstrong, afterwards to become Speaker; that earnest and good man J. V. Chataway, afterwards Secretary for Agriculture; J. C. Cribb, who revived memories of that good old name; W. Thorn, a brother of George; Andrew Petrie, the embodiment of good humour, and son of a very early colonist; J. J. Kingsbury, now a Crown Prosecutor; Lewis Thomas, the little Welsh coal-miner; A. J. Callan, Nicholas Tooth, Fred. Lord, Wm. Harding, John Fogarty, John Watson, C. W. Midson, G. R. Burns, and G. S. Curtis, to become famous as the champion of Central Separation. He and Macrossan represented respectively the Central and Northern view of this once burning question, but the history of their fights and failures in the cause cannot be written here. With a persistent energy they clung to their subject for years, and when Federation came the bottom dropped out of the movement, and only in a feeble way was the Central cause advocated in later years by John Adamson. Joshua Thomas Bell, also to become Speaker, the cultured son of a cultured father, came into this Parliament; and last came Thomas Joseph Byrnes for the first time into the elective Chamber as member for Cairns. His record as a brilliant scholar is well known. Both of these men who became so prominent in our local political affairs were products of the Brisbane Grammar School.

Quite early in the session, on 5th July, trouble arose. McIlwraith had proposed a tax of 50s. for every ton weight of station produce exported across the border. His supporters resented it, and the second reading of the Bill was only carried on the casting vote of the Speaker. McIlwraith resigned, but Sir Henry Norman urged him to withdraw, which he did, and, like the strong-minded man that he was, he forced his supporters to pass on 11th July a measure which they had practically rejected on the 5th.

The session produced twenty-eight Acts, amongst which was the Special Retrenchment Act of painful memory, and by virtue of which many unnecessarily harsh things were done. The financial crisis was on, and we had dropped on hard times. Nelson, the clever Treasurer, passed the Q. N. Bank Agreement Act and the Public Depositors' Relief Act. This was the year also of the Sugar Works Guarantee Act and Barlow's experiment the Co-operative Communities Land Settlement Act. In the previous session the salary of the Chief Justice had been increased to £3,500 a year for the express purpose of making it worth the while of Sir Samuel Griffith to take the position, and within a few months after we find an effort being made to restore the old salary in the case of future occupants of the office.

Up to the year 1893 the office of Sergeant-at-Arms of the Legislative Assembly had always been preserved as a separate office, and filled as a rule by an elderly gentleman who sat at ease in an armchair at the bar of the House, clothed in a traditional costume of knee-breeches, silk stockings, silver-buckled shoes, and an official cutaway coat with a millinery beetle on the neck. The outfit no doubt was impressive enough as the emblem of the authority of the House, but in the year in question it occurred to the then Premier, when looking round for economies, that £300 a year could be better invested, and the office was combined with that of Clerk-Assistant. In this connection it is amusing to recall how the then occupant of the Sergeant's chair in the previous year had allowed his zeal to outrun his discretion and had, on a certain occasion when the bar was closed for a division, prevented the member for Nundah, Agnew, from dodging underneath, and "shooing" him as if he were a recalcitrant sheep. Thereupon Agnew made another attempt to get under the bar, but the Sergeant's zeal was more than equal to the member's agility, and he landed the member for Nundah one in a weak spot and sent him spinning in the passage. It need hardly be said that it is not the duty of officers of Parliament to chastise members, and that the authority of the Sergeant-at-Arms is strictly limited to obeying the orders of Mr. Speaker.

Parliament went into recess, meeting again in July, 1894. In the meantime McIlwraith resigned the Chief Secretaryship, Nelson reconstructing the Ministry in which McIlwraith first held the portfolio of Railways and then held office without portfolio. Shortly after the reconstruction, his health demanding it, he went to Honolulu, and then to England, and never returned. Peace be to the memory of a strong and able man who did well by his adopted country.

It is necessary here to pause for the recital of the additions which took place to the Legislative Council between the years 1890 and 1900. In that period we find the names of Hugh Mosman, McIlwraith's brother-in-law; Wm. Brookes, Dr. C. F. Marks, Patrick Perkins, James Tyson, T. B. Cribb. Robt. Bulcock, C. H. Buzacott, John Ferguson, G. W. Gray, Albert Norton, A. H. Barlow, B. D. Morehead, Wm. Allan, John Archibald, H. M. Nelson, E. J. Stevens, Angus Gibson, John McMaster, John Webber, and J. G. Drake.

Nelson faced Parliament on 17th July, 1894, his colleagues being McIlwraith without portfolio, Byrnes, Tozer, Wilson, Thynne, Philp, Barlow, Dalrymple, Foxton, Dickson, and Chataway at different periods. This talented Scotchman had a genius for getting down to first principles. He was a strange blend of the *fortiter in re* with the *suaviter in modo*, the latter predominating. He was a greatly beloved leader of his party, and for that reason demands special mention. Strange stories of his political career could be told, but the occasion of the greatest humour was when he strolled into the House one morning in the early hours, clad in blue and white striped pyjamas, to pour oil on very troubled waters. Whether it was the sight of the pyjamas or the man's innate popularity, the fact remains that the House laughed, and was at peace once more.

His Government passed thirty-six Acts in their first session, among which were a Crown Lands Act, another Special Retrenchment Act, and a Civil Service Act. Fisher tried and failed to repeal the Railway Construction (Land

Subsidy) Act, and Hamilton was equally unsuccessful in an effort to restore the £300 a year payment of members. An Electoral Reform Bill by the persistent Glassey did not get beyond the first reading. J. T. Bell took an early opportunity of trying to pass a Children's Protection Bill but did not meet with any success. This was the year of the Meat and Dairy Produce Encouragement Act, the Goldfields Act, and the bitter struggle over Byrnes's Peace Preservation Act, when suspensions first became the vogue, and when members sued Mr. Speaker for "assault, trespass, and false imprisonment." It was on 11th September of this year that no less than seven members were suspended during the consideration in Committee of the Peace Preservation Bill—namely, Messrs. Browne, Reid, McDonald, Dawson, Turley, Dunsford, and Glassey. Never since have members been suspended in such wholesale numbers. In each case, the member refusing to obey the order of the House was removed by the Sergeant-at-Arms, the House adjourning at daybreak on the 12th after one of the most stormy sittings on record. The record of the session would not be complete without reference to Barlow's Agricultural Lands Purchase Act. It was a very strenuous and fighting session, lasting seventy-seven days, and ending with a Loan Act.

The third session, in 1895, was the last of the Eleventh Parliament. In December of this year Sir Henry Wylie Norman came to the end of his term as Governor, and was succeeded in April of the following year by the Right Honourable Charles Wallace Alexander Napier, Baron Lamington. Parliament sat from 25th June to 20th December, a period of 102 days. It was the longest continuous session on record. It produced a Crown Lands (Consolidating) Act, a Railway Act, a Railways Guarantee Act, a Co-operative Communities Land Settlement Act, and a Gambling Act, and there were futile efforts to legislate on the subjects of Workmen's Lien, the Protection of Children, and Early Closing.

The Twelfth Parliament met in June, 1896, with Nelson still Premier. Sir Alfred Cowley was re-elected

Speaker, and the Labour Party had become reinforced by C. B. Fitzgerald, a son of a very early member; G. C. Sim, Dibley, Wm. Kidston, the fitter from Falkirk, destined later to become a strong leader of a strong Government; J. C. Stewart, for many years after a Commonwealth Senator; Ryott Maughan, who became a very capable Chairman of Committees; Robert King, and Frank McDonnell, a very early and persistent champion of shops and factories workers. There came also into this Parliament Tom Finney, who once compared a fellow-member with Esau who sold his birthright for "a mouthful of mate," and George Story, who can lay claim to being the pioneer of the itinerant teacher movement. It is strange how, in our political life, proposals which to-day are regarded as utopian, to-morrow are taken as a matter of course. When Story first proposed itinerant teachers he was laughed at and almost regarded as a crank. To-day the little unfortunates out of reach of State schools are waited upon by a teacher in a motor-car. There also came to this Parliament T. B. Cribb, who became Treasurer in Philp's Ministry in 1901; Jacob Stumm, who graduated on "Hansard" and afterwards went to the Federal House of Representatives; Jenkinson, a man of buzzing industry and critical nature; Bridges, who became and is a keen party whip; W. Moore and W. W. Hood; James Stodart, who became Chairman of Committees; and Denis Keogh, who pathetically informed the House that in drought time his constituents were to be seen "with tins of kerosene on their heads" going to the creek for water. Other members who came into this Parliament were John Bartholomew, R. M. Collins, James Crombie, Robt. Fraser, W. F. McCord, John Newell, T. McGahan, Wm. Castling, and A. J. Stephenson. Foxton became associated with Nelson this year. The Australasian Federation Enabling Bill was not returned from the Council, the Queensland National Bank was legislated for twice, and members' salaries were restored to £300 a year by an amendment of the Constitution Act. J. T. Bell protected the little children in this session, but failed to regulate unconventional dentists. Tozer passed a Public Service Act, and

there was a Defence Act, an Electric Light and Power Act, a Companies Act, Officials in Parliament Act, and a Railway Act. After other minor work Parliament went into recess.

The session of 1897 lasted ninety-three days, but was not prolific. It was a Tozer session. He was Acting Premier during Nelson's absence at the Colonial Conference in London.

The Australasian Federation Enabling Bill was withdrawn, and there was Tozer's Election Bill which passed and Glassey's which failed. There was Foxton's Land Act, which was triumphant, and an abortive Local Government Bill. Browne tried to repeal the Railway Construction (Land Subsidy) Act, and McDonnell of Fortitude Valley put in unrequited labour over a Shops Early Closing Bill. He was a very consistent advocate of a good cause, and has lived to see it reach high-water mark. The Married Women's Property Act and the Mareeba to Chillagoe Railway Act became law during the year.

Then came the last session of the Parliament, opening in July, 1898. Sir Arthur Palmer had died in March, 1898, and Sir Hugh Nelson, after a long career of usefulness in the Lower House, became President of the Legislative Council in April, and was succeeded as Premier by the much-mourned T. J. Byrnes in the same month. The only change in the personnel of the Ministry was that John Murray came in as Secretary for Railways.

The tragedy of the year was the death of Byrnes in September with the most useful part of his life before him, after a Premiership of only five months.

Once again a reconstruction took place, with Dickson as leader, Arthur Rutledge as Attorney-General, and G. W. Gray in the Council.

The session lasted until 23rd December, and its chief feature was the passing of Philp's Mining Act, a work accomplished with much industry and intimate knowledge of the subject. A Workmen's Lien Bill and a University

Bill both failed to materialise. There was an Elections Act during the year, in addition to measures providing for local administration in matters of Intestacy and Insanity, Copyright Registration, and an Act for adopting the British Pharmacopœia.

The Thirteenth Parliament met in May, 1899, with Dickson still as Premier. Arthur Morgan was elected Speaker. The new men who made their debüt were—James Forsyth, an analytical financier and commercial authority who has always been recognised as sound on figures, and endowed with the Scotch characteristic of caution; the kindly E. B. Forrest, with an enormous voice and impulsive vigour; Thomas Givens, who afterwards went to the Federal Senate and is now President; P. F. Hanran, Henry Turner, William Hamilton, the shearer from Gregory who is now President; he can justly claim the origination of the scheme for giving shearers and sugar-workers accommodation fit for human beings; W. G. Higgs, who had stirred up the Brisbane Municipal Council; he proved himself an amusing stonewaller, and in his brushes with the Chair was always suave and gentlemanly; he afterwards became Treasurer in a Federal Labour Ministry; William Kent, John Cameron, a popular squatter; V. B. J. Lesina, the voluble and clever debater, whom Dalrymple once described as suffering from “verbal diarrhœa”; John Linnett, Geo. Ryland, to whom the refreshment-room bar was anathema; Maxwell, who became a Government whip; Donald Mackintosh, a big-voiced Gael, of crude but common-sense speech; J. D. Campbell, son of an early pioneer; Paget from Mackay, who became a Railway Minister, and opened more railways than all previous Ministers put together; E. H. Macartney, a critical lawyer of much ability, who became Secretary for Lands and once undertook the futile task of trying to prevent by Act of Parliament the consumption of cigarettes by little boys; David Bowman, the humanitarian bootmaker who in turn was Opposition leader and Home Secretary, and who died beloved by all who knew him; W. H. Barnes, who served Bulimba well for many years and was a cautious and capable Treasurer; Peter Airey, who came with a

training and gift for detail engendered by the State schools, and who gained Ministerial rank; and James Tolmie, also with long State school experience, who became Secretary for Lands and an unusually industrious leader of the Opposition. Students of State politics all over Australia will observe the leaning of the schoolmaster towards politics. Those who secure seats are not all successes, but a schoolmaster politician who comes to the front often shows that in his former sphere he has been an industrious and painstaking man devoted to detail. Other Labour members who served in this Parliament were Burrows, Barber, and Mulcahy.

The first session of the Parliament will go down to history as the Federal Enabling Act session; indeed members were specially summoned to deal with this one subject. Gracious reference was made in the Opening Speech to the death of the first Governor of Queensland, Sir George Ferguson Bowen.

The second session, opening in September of the same year, was one of turmoil, and was fatal to Dickson. On the motion to go into Committee on the Railways Standing Committee Bill, Dawson moved an amendment, "That the House do proceed to the next Order of the Day," and Dickson only saved himself by one vote. The Government resigned and Dawson was sent for on 28th November. On 1st December he announced the formation of a purely Labour Ministry consisting of himself, C. B. Fitzgerald, Turley, Kidston, W. H. Browne, Hardacre, and Fisher. On the same date the House refused to adjourn on Dawson's motion and his Government resigned. Then the Lieutenant-Governor sent for Philp, who formed a Ministry on 7th December, 1899, which lasted until 1st February, 1901. During that period he had as colleagues, at different times, Rutledge, Dalrymple, Foxton, Chataway, Murray, O'Connell, Drake, T. B. Cribb, and G. W. Gray.

After two changes of Ministry in one session it was not to be expected that the legislative result would be great. A Public Service and a Railway Bill became law, but Dalrymple with a University Bill only got as far as the

committee stage. It was at this period that Griffith had presented to Parliament that erudite work, the Criminal Code, the result of phenomenal industry and learning, and Rutledge piloted it safely through the Assembly. Andrew Fisher with a Workmen's Compensation Bill only got as far as the second reading stage.

1900 was a busy year which produced thirty-four Acts of Parliament. It may be called the Private Railway Act session, when there were long and bitter fights over the Callide Railway Bill, the Glassford Creek Tramway Bill, the Mount Garnet Tramway Bill, the Port Norman to Cloncurry Railway Bill, and the Albert River, Burketown, and Lilydale Tramway Bill. In order to accomplish the passage of this legislation, the Closure Standing Order had to be amended and that fatal weapon the "guillotine" brought into existence. This was not accomplished without the suspension of four members in one night. The strenuousness of this session may be judged from the fact that the Assembly sat on 87 days for 815 hours, and 136 hours after midnight. There were other important measures too, for Foxton fathered the Factories and Workshops Act and the Health Act. The Pacific Cable Enabling Act, the Pastoral Leases Act, the Sugar Experiment Stations Act, and the Parliament of the Commonwealth Elections Act became law. A Workers' Compensation Bill by Fisher, a University Bill by Dalrymple, and an Agricultural Bank Bill were among the slaughtered innocents, but the Land Laws were amended in various particulars.

Thus we come to the fourth session of the Thirteenth Parliament, lasting from July to nearly the end of December, 1901. In it were passed Foxton's Local Authorities Act and the Port Norman, Normanton, and Cloncurry Railway Act. The land question was dealt with under two measures, while W. Hamilton came to the front with a Shearers' Accommodation Bill, but failed. Ryland took up the running with Workmen's Compensation, and was supplanted by Rutledge, neither of them having any success. The Pastoral Holdings New Leases Bill, after

being shuttlecocked from Chamber to Chamber, at last became law; and an Agricultural Bank was launched upon what has proved a chequered career.

On the initiative of Rutledge, Parliament reconsidered its action in increasing the salary of the Chief Justice to £3,500, and provided that the next occupant of the office should revert to the ridiculously inadequate income of £208 6s. 8d. per month.

We here say good-by to the unlucky Thirteenth Parliament, in which two Ministries fell, and stage on 8th July, 1902, the Fourteenth. Lord Lamington retired in December, 1901, and was succeeded in March, 1902, by General Sir Herbert Charles Chermside. There came into this Parliament some new men destined to make their mark in politics. J. W. Blair, a gifted lawyer with a sonorous voice, a silvery tongue, and perpetual good humour; he became famous at his first election by papering Ipswich with the humble legend "Give Jimmy a Vote," and they did; A. C. Cooper, Digby F. Denham, a commercial man of keen intellect, who became Premier and left a big mark upon local politics; Henri Cowap, G. Martin, A. G. C. Hawthorn, a lawyer who graduated in Shire Councildom and became a Minister; K. M. Grant, who became Chairman and a Minister; T. de M. Murray-Prior, son of an early Councillor; D. Mulcahy and John Norman; Kenna, a friend of the disinherited and an authority upon "Ancient Lights"; A. J. Lamont, P. J. Leahy, a student of poetry, who could quote aptly anything from the "Nonsense Book" to "Paradise Lost"; Mick Woods, the railway engine-driver; D. J. R. Watson, a local barrister; R. S. Hodge, W. H. Summerville, and later on W. S. Murphy, whose entry was spectacular, for in 1904 the Morgan Government waited breathless for the arrival of the steamer from the North, to be saved from destruction by his vote. Had he not arrived in time, the numbers would have been equal on J. C. Cribb's amendment on the Address in Reply. A doggerel bard of the period immortalised him as "Kuropatkin" Murphy.

Arthur Morgan was elected Speaker for the second time, and there came more troublous times with another Special Retrenchment Act for the Civil Service. O'Connell passed an elaborate Land Act, and T. B. Cribb was responsible for a form of taxation new to Queensland, in the shape of an income tax. Hamilton with a Shearers' Accommodation Bill and Kidston with an Elections Bill both failed, while Rutledge, again without success, introduced a Workmen's Compensation Bill. E. B. Forrest in this session first mooted the question of a Railway Appeal Board. A Miners' Accident Relief Bill by Dunsford never got beyond the second reading stage, and a Loan Act for two and a-half millions completed the work of the session.

The second session opened in July, 1903, and was marked by two important incidents. The Government had proposed in Committee of Ways and Means certain amended stamp duties, and on 8th September the question was put, "That the Resolutions as amended be agreed to." This was carried by 33 votes to 31. Premier Philp was not satisfied with a working majority of two, and resigned on the following day. W. H. Browne was sent for, but he failed to form an Administration, and recommended the Governor to send for Mr. Speaker Morgan. Thereupon Morgan resigned the Speakership and Cowley was once more elected to that high office. Morgan took into his Ministry J. T. Bell, who resigned the Chairmanship and was succeeded by George Jackson. These two resignations, and the cause which led up to them, created a unique position, and probably a new precedent. The other members of the new Government were, at various periods, Browne, Kidston, Blair, Denham, O'Sullivan, a worthy son of the immortal "Paddy" and a native of Ipswich; Peter Airey, on the death of the popular Browne; and A. H. Barlow leading the Council. This was a composite Government supported by the full strength of the Labour party. As for legislation, the session was not momentous. There was an attempt to amend the Income Tax Act which failed, but the Stamp Act, the innocent cause of Philp's downfall, was amended. Both Women's Franchise by Foxton and Workmen's Compensation by Rutledge failed,

as also did the Railway Employees' Appeal Bill once again. Introductory steps were taken by Philp to extend the duration of Parliaments, but they came to nothing, and a measure providing for the election of Senators became law. One cannot help noting here the rapidity of the rise of J. W. Blair, who, elected in 1902, found himself Attorney-General in April, 1904.

The third session of the Parliament, opening on 17th May, 1904, unlike its predecessor, *was* momentous. An amendment on the Address in Reply, moved by Cribb, was only defeated by one vote. Morgan advised a dissolution which the Governor declined to grant. Thereupon he tendered the resignation of the Government, and Sir Arthur Rutledge was sent for. He failed to form a Ministry, and Morgan being again sent for obtained the dissolution which he had demanded. The session's work consisted of an Appropriation Act only.

Sir Herbert Chermiside came to the end of his term in October, 1904, and was succeeded on 30th November, 1905, by the Right Honourable Frederick John Napier, Baron Chelmsford, who is at present Governor-General of India. Two Queensland Governors have thus filled that high office.

Morgan came back to the Fifteenth Parliament, which met on 20th September, 1904, followed by the Labour Party in strength, and Sir Alfred Cowley began his fourth term as Speaker. In the first session the unhappy Public Service was once more attacked by another Special Retrenchment Act; an Electoral Franchise Bill on the basis of one adult one vote was ably handled by Airey, but the Council did not pass it. A Land Betterment Assessment Bill and a Land Bill failed to pass, and the Constitution Act Amendment Bill, reducing the Governor's salary to £3,000 a year, was reserved for the Royal assent. Other measures passed were the Q. N. Bank Agreement Act and a Stamp Act Amendment Act. An attack upon juvenile smokers by Macartney was not proceeded with.

In this Parliament we find for the first time T. W. Bouchard, A. H. E. Barton, J. W. Fudge,

J. H. Hargreaves, Robt. Herbertson, A. J. Jones, now leading the Council; F. Grayson, C. Neilson, W. Reinhold, a State schoolmaster whose fad was a paper currency; H. P. Somerset, E. M. Land, W. Mitchell, Colonel C. D. W. Rankin, who has proved himself an orator quite out of the common; John Payne, T. A. Scott, T. A. Spencer, W. O'Keefe, E. Smart, W. J. Paull, J. O'Brien, T. O'Sullivan, and John Mann, gifted with a phenomenal memory.

The second session of the Parliament opening in January, 1905, lasted only twelve days. The Council passed the Elections Act Amendment Bill, combining it with the Electoral Franchise Bill, thus enfranchising 100,000 women.

The third session of the Parliament, being the second of 1905, was a busy one. Blair and Airey each passed democratic measures, the Workers' Compensation Act and the Shearers and Sugar Workers' Accommodation Act. The Albert River, Burketown, and Lilydale Tramway Act Amendment Bill was productive of a temporary split in the Government party. Bell's Land Bill and Forrest's Railway Employees' Appeal Bill passed, but a Contractors and Workmen's Lien Bill by Ryland was dropped at an early stage. At last Macartney got on the Statute-book a Bill to suppress juvenile smoking, but it is feared that the lapse of twelve years has not appreciably altered the habits of little boys. The Council rejected the Proceeds of Crown Lands Sales Bill and the Metropolitan Hospitals Bill, but a measure to regulate the Metropolitan Fish Supply became law. The Careless Use of Firearms Act, passed by Plunkett, which has no more effect upon the careless use of firearms than the binomial theorem has upon the European war, became law during this session.

In January, 1906, a great and good man died—a man of whom the type has almost disappeared. That polished, genial old Scotch gentleman Sir Hugh Nelson passed the Great Divide, and Arthur Morgan reached the pinnacle of fame for a Queensland native, and became President of the Legislative Council.

The session of 1906 was begun with Kidston's first Ministry in office. Up to the time it went out of office in November, 1907, it included Bell, Denham, Blair, Airey, O'Sullivan, Hawthorn, Kerr, and Barlow.

Kidston saw the session out. The legislation passed was not of vast importance. The Closer Settlement Act got through, a Contractors and Workmen's Lien Act went to the credit of O'Sullivan, a Railways Act and a Lands Sales Proceeds Act were consummated, while the Council refused a Trades Disputes Bill. The mantle of Kenna in the Assembly had fallen upon Jensen in the Council, who was successful with a measure to declare the law regarding "Ancient Lights." It had no particular relation to conditions which have existed at any time in Queensland, but was just one of those amiable fads with which legislators sometimes amuse themselves. That was the end, and the country was appealed to once more.

Kidston came back to lead the Sixteenth Parliament, meeting in July, 1907. Into it came for the first time John Adamson, later to become a Labour Minister for Railways; John White, who became Secretary for Agriculture; G. H. Blocksidge, James Brennan, Vincent Creagh, Donald Gunn, J. M. Hunter, who later on became Secretary for Lands; another George Barber from Warrego; Wm. Lennon, with wide banking and mercantile experience, to become Secretary for Agriculture; John May, Joe Millican from Charters Towers, D. McIntyre, T. Nevitt, R. Sumner, Verney Redwood, the Toowoomba maltster who had visions of becoming Premier in record time; T. R. Roberts, H. A. C. Douglas, H. F. Walker, and E. B. Swayne.

John Leahy was elected Speaker. There was only one session in this Parliament but it is quite historic. The Labour Party proper had gone to the country pledged not to be hampered by any other party, and they took up their position on the Opposition cross-benches as their leader, Bowman, said, "to emphasise its identity as a separate and distinct party." Nevertheless Kidston obtained a general promise of support from the Labour

Party so long as his policy "did not conflict with the principles embodied in the Labour platform." Very little effective work was accomplished. The Government had tried to repeal the postal vote provisions of the Elections Act and amend it in other particulars, but the Council declined to co-operate. Thereupon Kidston tendered certain advice to the Governor in regard to the manner of overcoming the Council's obstruction. The advice was not accepted and Kidston resigned. His Excellency sent for Philp, who formed an Administration consisting of F. I. Power and Villiers Brown in the Council, Denham, Campbell, P. J. Leahy, and W. Stephens.

Perhaps 22nd November, 1907, was one of the tensest periods in our Parliamentary history. On a motion by Philp to restore Committee of Supply to the business-paper, Kidston moved an amendment in the shape of an address to Lord Chelmsford setting forth the views of himself and his supporters in reference to the political tangle. The amendment was carried by 37 to 27. This was presented the same night by the Speaker, and His Excellency replied within an hour, the House waiting in a state of much expectancy. The pith of His Excellency's message was contained in the words "By the exercise of the prerogative of dissolution the people are asked to say what they wish done." Thus Philp got his dissolution and the end of the session came. It produced merely a Children's Court Act, a Poor Prisoners' Defence Act, and an amendment to the Income Tax Act. In this year Kenna tried to pass a somewhat novel measure entitled "The Testators' Family Maintenance Bill." Interference with testamentary dispositions was strongly resented, but strangely enough a similar measure went through, almost without discussion, under the ægis of Blair a few years later. The Religious Instruction in State Schools Referendum Bill never reached maturity.

The first session of the Seventeenth Parliament met in March, 1908. Philp, being unsuccessful at the polls, had resigned with his Government, and Kidston had formed a new Administration with a very large following. Into this

Parliament came J. G. Appel, another prominent politician who stands to the credit of the Brisbane Grammar School; he afterwards became a very humane Home Secretary; G. P. Barnes, E. G. C. Barton, the man who originated and stuck to the now prosperous City Electric Light Company; Cottell, J. H. Coyne, to become later a Labour Minister for Railways; David Hunter, whose Bible was "Hansard"; John Huxham, a consistent supporter of Labour's cause and also a future Labour Minister; P. A. McLachlan, from the Government Printing Office; J. Mullan, who afterwards became a Labour Senator; Vernon Winstanley, to become a capable Government whip; and B. S. F. Allen, from the State schools. Kidston's second Ministry included as time went on Blair, Bell, Airey, O'Sullivan, Hawthorn, Kerr, Denham, W. H. Barnes, Appel, Paget, Jackson, with Barlow leading the Council.

No session of Parliament has produced measures fraught with so much importance. To meet the difficulty of getting measures through the Council, Blair first of all carried an amendment of the Constitution repealing the proviso to section 9 which required a two-thirds majority on the second and third readings of Bills to amend the Constitution. This paved the way to another constitutional amendment—the Parliamentary Bills Referendum Act—under which measures rejected by or which the Council refused to pass in the form in which the Assembly desired, in two consecutive sessions, could be submitted to the people by way of referendum, and, if approved, automatically became law. This, as you know, led to the passage in two consecutive sessions of the measure to abolish the Legislative Council, and its subsequent submission to the people on 5th May, 1917. This is such modern history that it is only lightly touched upon for the purpose of making the record complete. The subsequent litigation to determine amongst other things the validity of Blair's two Acts is also of such recent occurrence that it is not desirable to more than mention it in passing. The final Referendum figures only came out on Friday, 5th October, exactly five months after the poll was taken, owing to the fact that the soldiers' votes took a very long time to reach the State.

After waiting so long they only totalled 1,910, the votes cast in Egypt having been lost on the submarined s.s. "Mongolia." The final figures were—For abolition, 116,196; against, 179,105; informal votes, 2,968; majority against abolition, 62,909. It is sufficient to say that the High Court of Australia unanimously reversed the decision of the State Full Court and declared that the Constitution Act Amendment Act of 1908 and the Parliamentary Bills Referendum Act of the same year were both valid and effective Acts of Parliament, and that there *was* power to abolish the Legislative Council of Queensland by the Act passed in accordance with the provisions of the Parliamentary Bills Referendum Act of 1908.

In the same session a Religious Instruction in State Schools Referendum Act was passed. It was a busy session with a new Land Act, an Old Age Pensions Act, two Railway Acts, an Elections Act, and the original Wages Boards Act.

Then came the recess, when that veteran Parliamentary officer, Lewis A. Bernays, C.M.G., died after piloting members for forty-nine years through the labyrinths of precedents and Standing Orders.

After the session Kidston had gone to England, and on his return coalesced with the Opposition led by Philp, and met Parliament again on 17th November, 1908. The new Government consisted of Kidston, Barlow, O'Sullivan, Hawthorn, Denham, Bell, Paget, and Appel. This combination led to defections from the joint party, the most prominent being Blair, Airey, and Kerr. There was no legislation to speak of during the session beyond a Loan Act and a technical legal measure.

From the year 1901 to the present date the additions to the Council included W. Villiers Brown, F. I. Power, B. B. Moreton, A. J. Carter, A. J. Callan, J. T. Annear, Lewis Thomas, E. D. Miles, T. O'Sullivan, Bartley Fahey, Albert Hinchcliffe, T. A. Johnson, Magnus Jensen, Peter Murphy, C. S. McGhie, R. H. Smith, E. H. T. Plant, T. C. Beirne, Arthur Morgan, W. H. Campbell, A. A. Davey,

H. L. Groom, T. M. Hall, W. H. Rawlings, Peter Airey, Frank McDonnell, H. Turner, C. F. Nielson, A. H. Parnell, A. G. C. Hawthorn, E. W. H. Fowles, P. J. Leahy, Wm. Stephens, A. H. Whittingham, E. B. Forrest, T. B. Cribb, R. M. Collins, C. Campbell, G. S. Curtis, A. Dunn, E. Hirschfeld, J. Hodel, T. J. O'Shea, A. J. Stephenson, Wm. Hamilton, and A. J. Jones. All those persons who from time to time have been summoned to the Legislative Council have now been mentioned, and it was desirable to do so to show to what extent a nominee Chamber is at the same time a representative Chamber. Though unelected by the people, it is contended by some that its representative character is very wide from a geographical, mercantile, and professional point of view. On the other hand, the Council being an honorary body will account largely for the fact that the industrial working community has at no time had adequate representation. Later on this defect was remedied to some extent, a fact to be referred to subsequently.

Having brought the doings of the Parliament of Queensland up to 1909, the year in which the State celebrated its jubilee, it is a comparatively easy task, though perhaps a more delicate one, to keep the history of things political up to date. One is inclined to take more or less liberty in speaking of past politicians and their deeds, but perhaps it would be tactful to adopt a more measured tone with live politicians and their doings.

The third session of the Seventeenth Parliament opened on 29th June, 1909, with the election of Joshua Thomas Bell as Speaker, Speaker Leahy having died on 20th January of the former year. The election was not accomplished without some strategy. The fusion of Kidstonites and Philpites had brought about many defections, and had swelled the ranks of Opposition cross-benchers, and it was essential that a close tally should be kept of heads, as the division list subsequently showed. Party requirements necessitated the member for Dalby voting for his own candidature, and the Ayes carried the day in an absolutely full House by 37 to 35. All legitimate party tactics were

resorted to in order to reduce the Government majority, and to this end, Ryott Maughan, the Chairman of Committees, resigned office, leaving the Government with a majority of one. On the Address in Reply the Government were met with a direct challenge, and it was not until the 28th July that they defeated by one vote the proposed amendment.

On 5th August, Parliament, after much strenuous fighting and the frequent application of the closure, adjourned until the 24th for the Premiers' Conference in Melbourne, and on resuming, it being found impracticable to attempt useful work with a working majority of one, Supply was obtained, and the Lieutenant-Governor granted a dissolution. The legislative record was three Appropriation Acts.

The Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Parliaments had only lasted between them five instead of nine years, so that hon. members had had a trying time in fighting to maintain their seats in the Lower House.

The Eighteenth Parliament met on 2nd November, 1909. Kidston had come back from the country with a substantial working majority, and Labour, the next most numerous party, took up the rôle of Opposition proper. The fusion of Philpites and Kidstonites had to some extent minimised the three-party trouble, for the seceders had met with disaster at the polls, and such seasoned politicians as Peter Airey, George Kerr, Woods, Cowap, Herbertson, Huxham, Jenkinson, Jones, Mitchell, Redwood, and Sumner met their Waterloo. Nevertheless there still remained a small party of seceders, comprising ex-Attorney-General Blair, and Messrs. Mann, Murphy, and Douglas. George Jackson, for many years the industrious representative of Kennedy, was the one unfortunate member of the Ministry defeated at the polls. A number of new members stepped forward on opening day to take the oath of allegiance. Into this Parliament came James Allan, Breslin, Ferricks, who became, and is, a Commonwealth Senator; E. B. C. Corser, now in the Federal House of Representatives; C. J.

Booker, Charles Collins, an earnest humanitarian; James O'Sullivan, who had beaten George Jackson; Thomas Foley, a pioneer Northern Labour man; James Crawford, Godfrey Morgan, an energetic importation from Victoria; H. M. Stevens, T. J. Ryan and E. G. Theodore from Barcoo and Woothakata respectively, destined to loom so large on the political horizon at an early date—the former as Premier and the latter as Treasurer. The merest political neophyte could have picked them out as men who would “arrive” quite early in their careers. Arnold Wienholt was another addition—son of a former member; Richard Trout, W. J. Vowles, an active Dalby solicitor; and Tom Welsby, a popular Brisbane business man.

The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Arthur Morgan, gave way during the session to the new Governor, Sir William MacGregor, M.D., G.C.M.G., C.B., who succeeded Lord Chelmsford on 2nd December, 1909. Meeting as it did so late in the year, Parliament was not in a position to undertake a big programme of work. The Constitution Act was amended so that members would in future be paid from polling-day to polling-day, and by providing a salary of an additional £200 a year for the leader of the Opposition. This latter provision was at the time unique, but it was a fair and reasonable recognition of the important part played by the leader of the party in opposition to the Government—probably, next to the Premier, the hardest worked man in the House. A big list of ten railways was agreed to; the Workers' Compensation Act was amended and liberalised to the extent of making Queensland at that time the only country in the world which provided compensation to commence seven days after injury; and the coping-stone was put upon our educational system by establishing and endowing the University of Queensland. The much-vexed question of mining on private land received attention; a Public Service Superannuation Bill raised a storm of indignation and failed to pass; the Port Alma Railway Act was agreed to; a small Lands Act Amendment Act became law; people in receipt of small incomes were thoughtfully provided for in the Workers' Dwellings Act; while the

city of Brisbane at last got its Water and Sewerage Act. Considering the short time available it was a good session's work.

The second session of the Eighteenth Parliament commenced on 12th July, 1910, under unfavourable auspices. Mr. Speaker Bell had been taken ill on the 11th, and during the whole session the Assembly was presided over by W. D. Armstrong, the Chairman of Committees, as Deputy Speaker. The Government having a good working majority, and Parliament having been called together shortly after the close of the financial year, a busy working session was anticipated, and the anticipations were more than realised. Nevertheless the debate on the Address in Reply was not finished until 9th August, and, as usual, there was much hard work crowded into the latter half of the session. Early in the session an interesting experiment was tried in the direction of enforcing by sessional order a time limit to speeches, and limiting the days allotted to consideration of the Estimates. From the point of view of one who has no politics they were both successes. A few months' practice accustomed members to the necessity for conciseness, and in many cases proved that in speech-making the more terse the speech the more convincing the argument. Twenty-one days were allotted to Supply. It was the average over the ten preceding years, but unfortunately did not prove sufficient, and part of the Estimates was closed. At a later date Supply was limited to seventeen days, and an amended time limit to speeches was agreed upon. They were both embodied in the Standing Orders, and members have become quite accustomed to these rules, which can be regarded as a pronounced success. Associated with the time limit was a weird clock of enormous dimensions, said to be the invention of a son of the then Premier. It was stationed in front of the Chairman and was supposed to automatically record members' time and "ring them down." It cost £78 13s. 4d., but its erratic behaviour and the frequency of its false alarms caused it to be abandoned, and £78 13s. 4d. worth of clock now lies unused in the strong-room.

Seldom has so large a part of the Government programme found its way on to the Statute-book. Out of thirty-seven measures introduced thirty-two were passed; two were not proceeded with after the second reading, and three lapsed. This is all the more remarkable when one considers the importance of the Bills. A colossal Land Consolidation Act was piloted through, and such big and important measures as the Local Authorities Act Amendment Act, Electoral Districts Act redistributing the seventy-two seats and abolishing double electorates, Rights in Water Act, State Education Acts Amendment Act introducing religious instruction into the State schools, and the Mines Regulation Act, were argued and fought over and finally passed. In addition there was a big crop of small amending measures, and no less than five private Bills; but towering above all came the biggest railway policy which Queensland has seen in her history—the extension of the North Coast Railway to Cairns and the construction of the Trans-State Great Western Railway with certain connections with the coast, and seven short railways to develop agricultural districts. And as railways are not built at the cost of promises to pay, it became necessary to authorise the raising of ten millions of money, which was done by means of the usual Loan Act. All this vast programme meant a long and hard session, Parliament sitting on 84 days for 698 hours. We passed into recess two days before Christmas, and, just when politicians were least expecting it, a bomb was exploded in the political camp by the resignation in February of Premier Kidston and Treasurer Hawthorn, and the reconstruction of the Ministry under the leadership of the member for Oxley, D. F. Denham, who had accomplished such fine work in the past session. Kidston went on to the Land Court; the late Treasurer sought refuge in the dignified atmosphere of the Legislative Council; E. H. Macartney joined the Government as Secretary for Lands, James Tolmie as Secretary for Agriculture, and the late Premier's Rockhampton colleague, K. M. Grant as Secretary for Public Instruction. They were all new to office, but all were men capable of good work. The

Parliamentary furnace is an infallible test of political worth, and only time can test the neophyte in office. At a later stage Colonel C. D. W. Rankin and H. A. C. Douglas joined the Ministry, the latter without portfolio.

The third session of the Eighteenth Parliament, commencing in July, 1911, was long but not prolific. W. D. Armstrong was elected Speaker in the room of Mr. Speaker Bell, who had died. The Liquor Bill occupied most of the time devoted to Government business. No agreement was come to between the two Houses, and this measure has the distinction of being the first Bill declared "lost" under Blair's Parliamentary Bills Referendum Act. Other matters dealt with were the Health Act, State Education Act Amendment, Lands Sales Proceeds, Sugar Works, Leases to Aliens, State Children, and some minor amending measures. The session lasted until 9th January, 1912. It will be remembered that early in the year a general strike took place, and after its conclusion Denham went to the country somewhat suddenly and came back to the Nineteenth Parliament with a substantial working majority. W. D. Armstrong was again elected Speaker. Into this Parliament came for the first time Wm. Bebbington, that vigorous exponent of the country producer's interests; Wm. Bertram, to become later an effective Chairman of Committees; W. N. Gillies, at present Chairman of the Public Works Commission; E. J. Caine, a Bowen lawyer; Bernard Corser, a son of E. B. C.; J. A. Fihelly, to become a prominent man and energetic Minister of the Crown later on; J. T. Gilday, M. J. Kirwan, who sprang from railway portering to representation of the metropolis; A. J. Lake, a practical joker from the Downs; Wm. McCormack, from Cairns, for whom fate had in store the Speakership; G. H. Mackay, now a Federal representative; H. D. Macrossan, a barrister, the clever son of a clever father; Wynn Williams, a Charters Towers lawyer; James Larcombe, J. H. Kessell, and later on E. T. Bell and E. W. Archer.

The principal measures passed in the first session were the Industrial Peace Act, the Liquor Act, the Mines

Regulation Act, and the Public Service Superannuation Act, though a vast number of minor measures were passed before Parliament adjourned on 5th December.

The second session, in 1913, produced an Elections Act Amendment, a Land Act Amendment, Sugar Growers Act, Sugar Cultivation Act, Closer Settlement Act, and a variety of smaller Acts of no great importance. Sir William MacGregor retired from office in July, 1914, and was succeeded on 15th March, 1915, by Major Sir Hamilton John Goold-Adams, G.C.M.G., C.B.

In the third session, in 1914, under an apparent cloak of calm, a good deal of work was accomplished. Throughout the session there had been some effort to displace Premier Denham as leader before an appeal was made to the country. To cut a long story short, the intrigue was not successful, and the country was appealed to on 22nd May, 1915.

This last session of the Parliament produced two new and important war measures, the Control of Trade Act and the Meat Supply for Imperial Uses Act, in addition to the Co-operative Sugar Works Act, an Elections Act Amendment, a Railways Act, the Testators' Family Maintenance Act, of which previous mention has been made, and a number of small amending Acts.

The result of the General Election was the complete rout of the Liberal Party, and Labour, for the first time in the history of Queensland, came into power with an overwhelming majority.

A quite unusual feature of the elections was the defeat of no less than six Ministers—namely, Messrs. Denham, Barnes, Grant, White, Blair, and Douglas.

The new men who came into the Twentieth Parliament were G. Carter, T. Dunstan, T. G. Armfield, David Gledson, A. E. Moore, J. C. Peterson, P. M. Bayley, Frank Cooper, E. N. Free, H. L. and Wm. Hartley, H. C. McMinn, D. and H. J. Ryan, J. Stopford, W. J. Wellington, T. L. Jones, who was distinguished by defeating the late Premier

Denham; W. Forgan Smith, W. F. Lloyd, also from the State Schools; and later on G. Pollock, T. Wilson, D. Weir, and F. M. Forde.

The political history of the past two and a-half years is known to everyone. T. J. Ryan led the party to victory, and his Ministry, consisting originally of Messrs. Theodore, Bowman, Lennon, Hunter, Adamson, Hardacre, and Hamilton, with Messrs. Huxham and Fihelly appointed a few days later without portfolios, took office on 1st June, 1915. There have been changes since by the lamented death of D. Bowman, which gave J. Huxham a portfolio; by the retirement of Adamson, which brought J. H. Coyne into the Railway Department; by the elevation of A. J. Jones to the Council to take the place of W. Hamilton, appointed to the Presidency on the death of Sir Arthur Morgan on 20th December, 1916. J. A. Fihelly, though without portfolio, administers an important department, and he has been responsible for legislation of great moment in the past three sessions.

The sessions of 1915 and 1916 may be said to constitute an era of industrial legislation and State enterprise. The more important industrial measures of these sessions are the Industrial Arbitration Act, Labour Exchanges Act, Workers' Accommodation Act, Workers' Compensation Act (constituting a State monopoly), Trade Union Act, Inspection of Machinery and Scaffolding Acts, Factories and Shops Amendment Act, and Workers' Compensation Amendment providing liberally for persons suffering from industrial diseases. Other laws of much importance enacted since June, 1915, are a liberalised Elections Act under which compulsory voting was provided for (in this respect Queensland is unique), a measure relating to Gas Companies, Land Tax Act, Petroleum Act which creates a State monopoly, Sugar Acquisition Act, Fish Supply Act, Health Act, Insurance Act, Money Lenders Act, Public Curator Act, and the Queensland Government Savings Bank Act. A Wages Bill, a Land Valuation Bill, and a State Iron and Steel Works Bill did not pass the Legislature. Other measures introduced but which failed to pass were the

Popular Initiative and Referendum Bill, a Bill to Abolish Capital Punishment, an amendment of the Constitution to substitute the Unicameral for the Bicameral system, another amendment of the Constitution disqualifying certain persons from sitting in Parliament, and the Hospitals Bill. Both the 1915 and 1916 sessions were unusually strenuous, and in each case ran into the following year. State enterprises of various descriptions were provided for in the Estimates of each of those years, but there is no need to detail them at this stage.

The session of 1916 was marked by an incident worth mentioning on account of its unusual nature. Towards the end of September a motion of want of confidence in the Government was proposed by the Leader of the Opposition, the charges being certain alleged public utterances of the Assistant Minister for Justice and the Secretary for Agriculture, and generally for "the failure of the Government to assist at the present juncture the Empire in its need of reinforcements for the troops in the field." An amendment moved by the Treasurer affirming that "the Government possesses the full confidence of the House by reason of its capable handling of all problems with which it is faced" was carried by 42 votes to 24 on the closure being applied. Whereupon the Opposition rose in a body and sang "God Save the King," which example was followed by members of the Government party. Meantime Mr. Speaker temporarily left the chair, but resumed it very shortly after, when the excitement of the moment had subsided.

The session of 1917, though not as full as its two predecessors, yet lasted quite the average time. Being the last session of the Parliament there was the not uncommon inclination to talk more and work less. The measures passed this year were not of as much importance as usual, but the session was marked by the rejection of important taxation measures in the Council. These included amendments of the Land Tax and Income Tax Acts and the Succession and Probate and Stamp Act Amendment Bills. No agreement was come to between the two Houses in

regard to the State Iron and Steel Works Bill or the Popular Initiative and Referendum Bill, the Requisition of Ships Bill was rejected in the Upper House, and the session closed on 6th December, the former being declared "lost" under the Parliamentary Bills Referendum Act of 1908.

An incident occurred during the session which formed a precedent so far as the Legislative Assembly is concerned. An honourable member had made certain charges in reference to the acquisition by the Government of Wando Vale Station, and a Royal Commission was appointed to enable him to substantiate the charges. The net result, without going into detail, was that a motion of censure was passed upon the honourable member "for abusing the privileges of Parliament by making . . . false allegations in regard to the purchase by the Government of Wando Vale Station, which allegations a Royal Commission, after judicial inquiry, found to be untrue." The only other case of censure of a member occurred in the Council about the year 1868, when the Honourable Dr. Hobbs was censured for the very venial offence of failing to respond to a "call of the Council."

It is a poor session that does not produce a new precedent, and the session of 1917 produced one of unusual importance. Included in the final Appropriation Bill for the year was a vote on account of the year 1918-1919 to the amount of £900,000. Under special circumstances on two former occasions a similar practice had been followed. This year much was made of the circumstance, both by the Opposition and members of the Council. We had reached the dying hours of the session when the Council, without reading the Bill a second time, sent a message to the Assembly requesting a withdrawal of clause 2 of the Bill. In the hurry and bustle and eagerness to finish the work of the year, the Assembly asked for a Free Conference on the subject. This was held, and an agreement came to that the 1918-1919 vote should be reduced by one-half. Thereupon the Council made the amendment themselves and sent it down for concurrence. The Assembly accepted, but in returning the Bill stated emphatically that "they agree to this unusual procedure (being the

result of a Free Conference) for the purpose of facilitating the passage of the Bill, but on no account is it to be regarded as a precedent, or an admission of the right of the Legislative Council to amend an Appropriation Bill." It has been said that, if the Legislative Council objected to the vote on account of the ensuing year, the objection was equally applicable to the sum of £450,000 as to the sum of £900,000. The original objection was to the principle and not to the amount. The undoubted privileges of the representative Chamber in regard to Money Bills have been safeguarded by the terms of the message so that it cannot be accused in future of having abrogated its rights.

This paper would not be complete did it fail to mention that in pre-Separation days there was no more energetic nor whole-hearted worker in the cause of severance from New South Wales, and no more picturesque figure in our early history, than Dr. John Dunmore Lang. His enthusiasm and fervour in what he conceived to be a just cause almost amounted to fanaticism. The end for which he had worked so hard having been accomplished, he in the very first session of Parliament presented a petition through Lilley, alleging that his exertions in the cause of immigration to the colony while it formed a component part of New South Wales had led to considerable personal loss, and praying inquiry into the truth of the allegations. A counter petition from certain immigrants per ship "Chaseley" prayed that no compensation be granted until the fulfilment of certain alleged promises of Dr. Lang that he was authorised to give them land on arrival. A Select Committee reported that though Dr. Lang's immigration efforts "were intended to subserve in some measure certain views of a philanthropic character, they were initiated as a commercial and strictly sectarian effort, and that he had no claim to compensation." With reference to his Separation efforts the Committee reported that the "thanks" of the Legislature were due to him. The thanks were duly conveyed through a resolution of Parliament and acknowledged on 26th September, 1860. Again, in July, 1864,

Dr. Lang petitioned the Assembly through Herbert for recognition of his services, and the matter was taken up by Douglas in August, and on his initiative a motion was passed granting £1,000 as a recognition of the services of Dr. Lang in the cause of Separation.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES.

An account of the Parliamentary institutions in Queensland during the past fifty-eight years, however brief, would not be complete without some reference to the relations which from time to time have existed between the two Houses. In earlier times when the division between the two parties in the Elective Chamber was denoted by the terms "Liberal" and "Conservative," it followed almost as a matter of course that the number of its supporters in the Legislative Council was determined by the opportunities the party in power had had of calling to the Council members representing its particular view in politics. This to some extent equalised matters, and, on occasions when the party in power had no absolute majority in the Council, the greater part of its objectives have not infrequently been attained by a process of compromise. In more recent times the demarcation between the parties in the Assembly has been perhaps even sharper, members representing respectively either "Labour" or "Liberal" views. The efforts of the former have been concentrated (as appears from a reference to the Constitution Act Amendment Bills of 1915 and 1916) upon the entire abolition of the Legislative Council, and hence no effort had been made, even by filling existing vacancies in the Council, to obtain a more even distribution of parties in that Chamber. On 11th October, 1917, however, there were nine nominations to the Council, in the persons of Messrs, W. R. Crampton, H. Llewelyn, W. H. Demaine, G. Page-Hanify, H. C. Jones, L. McDonald, I. Perel, W. J. Riordan, and R. Sumner. On 13th October the following further nominations were made:—F. Courtice, E. B. Purnell, T. Nevitt, and Randolph Bedford.

In times both past and present the essential difficulty between the two Chambers has arisen over matters of finance, though not exclusively so, and it is more particularly that branch of legislation to which these remarks are directed. In other matters there has, during the past few years, been a somewhat remarkable extension of the system of "Free Conference" between the two Houses, which in numerous cases has led to excellent results and an ultimate agreement upon disputed points.

It is not proposed to go over old and much-trodden ground by relating in detail all the different occasions upon which the two Houses have come into conflict, either upon wholly financial measures or upon clauses in general measures involving by any means the control of finance. Quite early in the history of Parliament the question was raised as to the respective rights and powers of the two Houses of Legislature regarding the control of finance. In the very first session of the First Parliament we find the Legislative Council effecting an amendment in the Grammar Schools Bill which, according to the Assembly's contention, would "render it compulsory to make large disbursements from the public revenue"; and though the Council on further consideration gave way upon the disputed points, this may be regarded as the initial assertion of the principle of co-ordinate powers with the Legislative Assembly.

Not until 1869 did a similar difficulty arise, when the Council increased from £2 10s. to £4 the value of certain land-order bonuses to be paid for the production of cotton. This the Assembly resisted as an invasion of their privileges, and the Council, without admitting the Assembly's contention, did not insist upon their amendment.

Again, in 1876 the Council amended the Stamp Duties Amendment Bill and the Navigation Bill in such a manner as to once more raise the question of the power of the Upper House to interfere in the question of imposing, varying, or repealing taxes. Both Bills were laid aside in the Assembly. They were then reintroduced, the Navigation Bill embodying the Council's amendments, and the

Stamp Duties Bill with all proposed exemptions removed, and they both became law that year. Thus the amiable farce was enacted of the Council attaining its object and the Assembly upholding its privileges.

The Divisional Boards Bill in 1879 was the next measure over which a difference of opinion arose, the Assembly declaring that the amendments made could not be accepted because "they interfered with the rightful control of the Legislative Assembly over taxation." After much negotiation a compromise was effected, the Council declaring that they would "continue to maintain their rights to deal with all Bills which may come before them."

Matters remained in a comparatively quiescent state until the session of 1884, when the Crown Lands Bill became the *casus belli*. The case for the Assembly was very ably stated by Mr. Speaker Groom, who at all times was a vigorous champion of the privileges of the Lower House. A Free Conference between managers from the two Houses resulted in this case in a compromise being arrived at.

In the history of the Parliament cases have from time to time arisen in which the Legislative Assembly has not insisted on its privileges when the amendments made by the Legislative Council have been in furtherance of the intentions of the Legislative Assembly. Furthermore, a Standing Order of the Lower House provides a convenient means by which amendments of a certain class can be agreed to without admitting the right of the Upper Chamber to make such amendments. When the Council, for instance, has made an amendment whereby a pecuniary penalty, forfeiture, or fee is authorised, imposed, appropriated, regulated, varied, or extinguished, the Assembly will not insist upon its privileges—(1) When the object of such pecuniary penalty or forfeiture is to secure the execution of the Bill, or the punishment or prevention of offences; (2) when the fees imposed are in respect of benefits taken or services rendered, and in order to the execution of the Bill, or are not in aid of the public revenue.

Once again, in 1885, the Council threw out a challenge to the Assembly by amending the Local Government Act Amendment Bill in respect to the repayments made by local governing bodies of loans granted for the construction of waterworks. Again, the Council, on objection being made by the Assembly, asserted its rights to co-ordinate powers with the Assembly, and the latter ultimately retreated by laying the Bill aside.

It was in this year that the differences between the two Houses on financial matters really came to a critical stage. Both in 1884 and 1885 the Assembly passed a measure providing for the payment of members' expenses to the extent of £200 per annum. Twice the Council rejected the measure, and to overcome the difficulty the Government included the necessary amount of £7,000 on the Estimates-in-Chief, and it was duly "tacked" on to the schedule to the Appropriation Bill. The Council thereupon eliminated it from the schedule. A Free Conference ensued, with the result that the Appropriation Bill was passed without amendment, and a case was submitted for the decision of the Privy Council embodying two questions—

1. Whether the Constitution Act of 1867 confers on the Legislative Council powers co-ordinate with those of the Legislative Assembly, in the amendment of all Bills, including Money Bills.
2. Whether the claims of the Legislative Assembly as set forth in their message of 12th November, 1885, are well founded.

The first of these questions was answered in the negative and the second in the affirmative, and it might have been supposed that for all time the relative powers of the two Houses had been finally settled by the highest court of the realm. Subsequent events proved this not to be the case, for the Members' Expenses Bill, being again introduced in the following year, was only passed as a matter of expediency after the arguments for and against the contentions of either House had been reiterated *ad nauseam*.

Having mentioned the differences that occurred between the two Houses up to the point when an authentic decision was obtained, it is not proposed to pursue the subject further at this stage.

The recorded cases of differences between the two Houses are too numerous to detail at length in this paper. It is sufficient to say here that the decision of the Privy Council has never been accepted by the Legislative Council as final, and that from time to time, with varying results, they have encroached upon the rights which the Assembly have consistently maintained as their exclusive privilege. So recently as the session of 1916-1917 a measure of much importance—the Income Tax Act Amendment Bill—was the subject of serious amendment by the Council, and subsequent negotiations between the two Houses, and being unable to agree, the measure was ultimately declared “lost” under the provisions of the Parliamentary Bills Referendum Act. This subject is one full of interest and worthy of separate treatment at length, but this paper would have been incomplete without a passing reference to the earliest and latest cases in dispute between the two Houses.

It was intended to make some reference to amendments or attempted amendments of the Constitution of Queensland since its enactment in 1867, but on consideration it was concluded that it would be an encroachment upon a subject portion of which has already been dealt with in a paper read before the Historical Society.

It only remains, therefore, to conclude this paper with a few general remarks bearing on the work of the Queensland Parliament during its comparatively brief existence.

The duration of Parliaments and the length of sessions may not be uninteresting for the purpose of comparison with similar institutions elsewhere. Up to the year 1890, when the Triennial Parliaments Act was passed, the principle of Quinquennial Parliaments had been in existence. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that six Parliaments were dissolved

before advantage was taken of the quinquennial period. The Seventh Parliament, assembling on 6th January, 1874, was not dissolved until 2nd October, 1878, or only three months short of its full term; and the last of the Quinquennial Parliaments, the Tenth, lasted for practically the same period. The Ninth Parliament, assembling on 8th November, 1883, lasted within seven months of the five-year period. Of the Quinquennial Parliaments the shortest was the Fifth, which lasted only seven months. Of the Triennial Parliaments the shortest was the Sixteenth, which existed only from 23rd July, 1907, to 31st December, 1907, or five months. The Seventeenth was also a very short Parliament, lasting from March, 1908, to August, 1909, or one year and five months. All other Triennial Parliaments, with the exception of the Fourteenth, which lasted two years, have run to within two or three months of their expiring period. In the Eighth Parliament there were no less than six sessions, and in the Tenth there were five sessions. The Eleventh was the first of the Triennial Parliaments. Since the establishment of responsible government the duration of sessions has varied to a remarkable degree. Four and a-half months may be taken as the average duration of a session, but there are exceptions to this rule. For instance, the fourth session of the Fifteenth Parliament and the third session of the Nineteenth Parliament lasted for six months, while the third session of the Eighteenth Parliament lasted for seven months. The first two sessions of the existing Twentieth Parliament extended over six months. Indeed, with more and more work to be done there is a natural tendency to increase the length of the sessions. There have also been very short sessions, such as the third of the Fourth Parliament, lasting six days, and the first of the Eighth Parliament, lasting six days. The shortest session was the third of the First Parliament, which lasted four days only, and was called specifically to pass a measure dealing with pleuro-pneumonia and other malignant diseases in cattle.

The duration of sittings in the Legislative Assembly is also a matter which should not be overlooked. As a

general rule members are desirous of completing the sitting before 11 p.m., but occasions arise when this wholesome practice is departed from. It almost invariably happens that there are some extended sittings during October and November. This is the period when the Jacarandas are in flower in all their glory outside the Legislative Assembly Chamber, and when the House gets into a "nasty" humour it is not uncommon for politicians on either side to remind their opponents that the Jacarandas are in flower, which is tantamount to a challenge to an all-night sitting. Personally I have no recollection of any sitting which lasted longer than ninety-seven and a-half hours. In the year 1889, with Morehead as Premier and Norton as Speaker, the House met on Monday, 28th October, at 3 p.m., and adjourned on the following Friday at 4.15 p.m., the discussion centring on the famous vote of £1,000,000 for unspecified railways. There have been numerous other long sittings, but that record has never yet and probably never will be broken. Only once, so far as I know, has the work of the Legislative Assembly been carried into Sunday. In the first session of 1908 the Assembly by sessional order met on Saturday, 18th April, at 10 a.m., and continued to sit until fifteen minutes after 1 o'clock on Easter Sunday morning.

While on the subject of records it might be desirable to mention that the greatest number of divisions recorded at one sitting is fifty-eight. This record was established on 9th October, 1913, on the Elections Act Amendment Bill, which under the "Guillotine" Standing Order had been ordered to be reported from Committee on that date. There was an almost continuous ringing of the bells and turning of the two-minute sandglass between 10 p.m. on the 9th and 3 a.m. on the 10th October.

It cannot fail to be of interest to set down here the names of sons who have followed their fathers in the representation of constituencies from the early days of Parliamentary institutions in Queensland. In the very first Parliament in 1860 we find the names of Robert and Benjamin Cribb, brothers, representing respectively North

Brisbane and West Moreton. Benjamin Cribb was followed by his two sons James Clarke Cribb, Rosewood, in 1892, and Thomas Bridson Cribb, Ipswich, in 1896. William Lambie Nelson was elected for West Moreton in 1860. As previously mentioned, he was unseated on the ground of being a minister of religion. He was followed in 1883 by his son Hugh Muir Nelson, Northern Downs. William Henry Groom, for many years the most influential member of the Darling Downs "Bunch," was in the First Parliament, and his eldest son subsequently became and is a member of the Legislative Council. Joshua Peter Bell was elected for West Moreton to the First Parliament. His son, Joshua Thomas Bell, represented Dalby in 1893. Patrick O'Sullivan represented Ipswich in the First Parliament. His son, Thomas O'Sullivan, followed him in 1906 as member for Warwick. John Douglas came into the Second Parliament in 1863 to represent Eastern Downs. In 1907 his son, Henry Alexander Cecil, represented Cook. T. B. Stephens was in the Second Parliament in 1863, representing South Brisbane. His son William was member for Woolloongabba in 1888, and subsequently was elected for the same constituency as his father. T. Henry Fitzgerald was in the Third Parliament in 1867 as member for Kennedy. He was followed by his son, Charles Borromeo, who represented Mitchell in 1896. Arnold Wienholt represented Warwick in 1863. Edward Wienholt, his brother, was member for Western Downs in 1870; and Arnold Wienholt, son of the second-named, came in for Fassifern in 1909. John Murtagh Macrossan first entered Parliament as member for Kennedy in 1874. He was followed by his son, Hugh Denis, as member for Windsor in 1912. James Morgan was member for Warwick in 1874. Fourteen years after, his distinguished son, Arthur, represented the same constituency. There is only one instance of father and son being in the same Parliament. Edward Bernard Cresset Corser was member for Maryborough in 1909, and he and his son, Bernard Henry, representing Burnett, were in the Nineteenth Parliament together in

1912. Indeed, inquiry fails to disclose any other instance in Australia in which father and son sat together in the same Parliament.

One is tempted very much to record a few impressions of some of the public men of the past. It would have been of much advantage if there had been handed down to me, as I had hoped, some first-hand knowledge of the personality of the earliest of our politicians. The rhetoric of Lilley, the learning of Herbert, the impulsiveness of Pring, the solid matter-of-factness of Douglas, with his rounded periods and sonorous voice, the savage roar of Palmer when roused, the courtliness of Garrick, the aggressiveness of Macalister, the polish of Joshua Peter Bell: these are characteristics which older men know more about than I do. The observant man stores up in his memory many little personal items concerning men and events, but it is not always wise to put them on paper. One is impressed in a study of politicians gathered together (and it is said without any disrespect) with the comparative paucity of the vocabulary of the average public man when first entering the political arena, while at intervals a few come to the front with a fine command of language, and others are never tired of learning, and go on improving from year to year. A book could be filled with the peculiarities which are noticeable both among the leaders and the rank and file—the idiosyncrasies of speech, mispronunciation, quaint gesture, pompous pedantry, painful platitudes, mixed metaphor, lost predicates, and slipshod diction generally; but these are weaknesses applicable to all large gatherings of men.

There is the inevitable member who is extravagant in the use of the eighth letter of the alphabet, and his friend who is too economical with it. In this latter connection there is an amusing instance of a very early politician, long since dead, who was quoting the alphabetically arranged tariff, and who caused a sensation when he uttered these ever-memorable words:—“And now we come to 'ams, 'ats, 'oney, and 'ops.”

Memory also carries one back to a man who attained eminence, and who knew so little of his native tongue that everything animate and inanimate was described as "the thing"; and "Hansard" reporters in his day, relieving one another in the gallery, were turned grey in their efforts to discover, when reporting one of his long speeches, which particular "thing" he was referring to at a specific time.

In this gathering of seventy-two men we meet all varieties—the excessively nervous member, more conscious of his shortcomings than are his auditors, and we have his antithesis in the new member who with newborn zeal comes into Parliament to teach and remains to learn; we have the bad-tempered and the suave; the tactful and the tactless; the impulsive, and the calm, matter-of-fact member; the humorous and the humourless. There are members with large, resonant voices who are not afraid of being heard, and there are members who are conspicuous for delivering orations to their boots, in a conversational tone, so that nobody shall discover what they are saying. We have the man with the oilcan and the man with the firestick; the man with the surplusage of adjectives, and the man who never learnt more than three; the man who is never happier than when causing a concussion, and the same man who shudders at the recoil. We have the keen critic whose pet aversion is to be criticised, and the plati-tudinous representative who has never learnt the elements of true criticism. We have men obsessed with one idea, and men who would be more useful if they had but one obsession. In short, we have just got seventy-two average men with average faults and average virtues. It does not follow, as some people think it must, that when a man becomes an elected representative he acquires ability and virtue far beyond his fellow-man. He is as a fact just the same man in Parliament as he was outside, except that he has "M.L.A." attached to his name and a gold railway pass attached to his watch-chain.

There have been, and are, fine able men in our Parliament, but it seems invidious to pick them out. One remembers the rugged doggedness of McIlwraith and his

crude method of expressing himself; the earnestness of John Macrossan, his eloquence, and the rarity of his laugh; the sarcasm of Hume Black; the polish of Pope Cooper (he and J. T. Bell might well be bracketed together for finished speech); the irony and cynicism of D. H. Dalrymple; the jumbled diction of Tozer; the cold, humorous analysis of Sir Hugh Nelson; the volubility of men like Hoolan and Lesina; the care-free, easy speech of J. W. Blair, with his wide knowledge of his mother tongue; the earnest, rough eloquence of men like David Bowman and Wm. Browne in their best days; the gun-like boom of Glassey's voice at the time he pioneered a new cause. These are only a few of the little memories one has of local men. They could be multiplied *ad infinitum*. One hesitates about particularising, but there is little harm in saying now that among them all, for pure English, for nicely balanced expression, for a true realisation of the meaning of all he said, and a keen sense of proportion, Sir Samuel Walker Griffith stands pre-eminent. Analytical and cold at most times, yet he could on occasion rise to flights of eloquence. I have heard him say many severe things, but never express a vulgar thought. When he raised his voice in anger he was impressive; when there was a worthy joke he could laugh with the best; but when the House was at work his keen intellect was never for a moment off his subject. There have been more popular leaders of parties, and that is another interesting phase of the subject when making a retrospect. Macalister may be remembered for his impulsiveness; Arthur Hunter Palmer for his roughness and crudeness of speech cloaking a very tender heart; George Thorn for just George Thorn, who was more conspicuous for amiability than seriousness; Douglas for solemnity; someone has said of him that he gave the impression that he was always pronouncing the benediction; McIlwraith, respected for his strong, self-reliant far-sightedness, was actually feared by his Ministers and supporters; he once spoke to a colleague as a schoolmaster threatening to "keep in" a little boy, and told him that if he did not spend more time in his department he could send in his resignation; Morehead for impulsive disregard of

conventionalities; Nelson (perhaps the most beloved of all leaders), far-sighted, casual, and with a strong sense of humour; T. J. Byrnes, fresh from his brilliant scholastic career, genial and popular, who might have done so much had he been spared; Anderson Dawson, the first Labour Premier, with a fine command of language, a man of wonderfully kind disposition, who under other circumstances could have made a name for himself; Robert Philp, always courteous to his followers, and with a marvellous detailed knowledge of the State; Arthur Morgan, the embodiment of gentlemanliness, who took office at a difficult time, and whose kindly nature was hurt by the harsh things he had to do; Kidston, astute, hard, cold, but believed in as a strong man of his day; Denham, keen, feverishly industrious and earnest always, irritable sometimes, but for whom some thought the burden was too great; and last T. J. Ryan, of whom one may say truly that he is an immensely popular and eloquent leader of his large party.

Every Parliament at some period of its existence has had a persistent and unsatisfied petitioner for the redress of a grievance, real or imaginary, and our Parliament has been no exception. It is only within the past year that we have lost our John Memonitch, a worthy and respectable citizen who conceived the idea that the country owed him something for the discovery of the Clermont Goldfield. For quite fifteen years he haunted the precincts of the Legislative Assembly, waiting, like little Miss Fitt at the doors of Chancery, for something to happen which never eventuated. Starting with a claim for £1,000 he gradually worked up the sum-total, by a process of adding interest and compound interest, to a vast number of millions which it would have beggared Queensland to pay. The Strangers' Gallery knows him no more, but John Memonitch is a memory that could not justly be overlooked.

There is really no limit to the extension of reminiscences if one had the space and the necessary freedom from restraint, but this paper has already extended itself beyond the scope of the original scheme.

In its history of fifty-eight years the Parliament of Queensland, it may be truly said, stands out in prominence as a Parliament which has nothing to be ashamed of, and with much to its credit. In other self-governing divisions of the Empire, Parliamentary institutions have produced from time to time their crop of scandals. It is remarkable how free from any such reproach the Parliament of Queensland has always been. Indeed, its record of fifty-eight years is good beyond all reasonable expectation, and superior to the record of the majority of other self-governing States. It has laid foundations deep and wide for a progressive and enlightened democracy; by a liberal recognition of the necessities of this young country, with all its great possibilities, it has opened the way for future Parliaments to widen and extend the good work already accomplished, and during all the turmoil of political battle, during all the stress of keen and strenuous fighting—sometimes for big principles, sometimes for things not worth fighting for—no public man has ever been responsible for bringing upon it the stigma of unworthiness of the sacred trust reposed in him. That is a record our Parliament may well be proud of, and take pride in maintaining.

In concluding this paper it is not unreasonable to ask that those inclined towards hypercriticism may give due weight to the difficulties of compilation. The writer would be glad if it could be regarded simply as a basis upon which more skilled hands can build at a later date. It makes no pretence at literary merit, and it does not claim infallibility, but if it serves the purpose of being a starting point for others it will not have been written in vain.

